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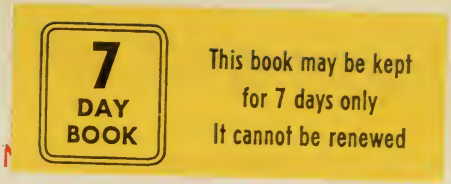

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CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1962

EXPERIENCES IN THE PHILIPPINES IN WORLD WAR II 203
W. C. Repetti, S.J.

THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND RECENT GOSPEL STUDY 246
Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.

FATHER JOHN W. TYNAN 275
John J. Morrison, S.J.

FATHER SANTO J. CATALANO 290
Anthony J. Paone, S.J.

CHANGE AND PERMANENCY 294
Henri J. Wiesel, S.J.

MAJOR SUPERIORS IN THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES 300
Joseph H. Ramspacher, S.J.

BOOK REVIEWS 303

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Experiences in the Philippines in World War II

W. C. Repetti, S.J.

Woodstock Letters has always been a repository for the work and experiences of the Society, but a comparatively small amount has appeared in connection with World War II in the Philippines.

Now that we have reached the twentieth anniversary of that war it may not be out of place to give a short account of the effect of that war on the Society in the Philippines. The following pages are offered, not as a comprehensive relation, but as a personal record based on a contemporary diary and notes. Many of the incidents mentioned here affected varying numbers of persons and in this respect it becomes more general than a purely personal narrative. The facts are given without any embellishment.

At the outbreak of the war the author held the position of chief of the section of seismology of the Manila observatory, which was the central office of the weather bureau of the Philippine Government. During the last three months of the house arrest in Manila he held the office of minister of the community, under Father Francis X. Reardon as rector. During the first three months of the internment at Los Baños he was in charge of construction work, in so far as any could be done, and the construction group was made up of Catholic brothers and Protestant ministers of various denominations.

HOUSE ARREST: December, 1941—July 11, 1944

Monday, December 8, 1941. Air raid alarm at midnight; we went down to the patio but nothing happened and we returned to bed. At 3:00 A.M. on the 9th we were jolted in our beds by bombs being dropped on Nichols Field.

December 10, 1941. Air raid at 12:40 P.M. on Cavite Navy Yard, Nichols Field and Camp Murphy. The American guns could shoot only to 9,000 feet, and the Japanese flew at 10,000 feet. All quiet signal at 2:00 P.M. One of the civilian employes, killed at Cavite, had a wife and three children, and the

Marines brought them over to us to give them quarters in one of the school rooms. The wife had been a dancer in Shanghai, was not working at her religion, but now she returned to the sacraments. The meteorological unit of the Navy, bombed out at Cavite, set up desks in the observatory corridor, and remained six days. One evening, a lieutenant and an ensign came in, gathered up a few papers and rushed out, saying that they were going south.

The first air raids were based on Formosa and the planes could be expected to reach Manila about midday. Nevertheless, we had to observe a strict blackout every night. The Japanese bombed only military installations. The Philippine government, however, ordered that all interisland boats be painted gray, and the enemy took them to be military or naval ships, and bombed them while tied up in the Pasig river. They offered a small target and one bomb which fell short struck a fire house and killed one man. A northeast wind was blowing and some bombs went beyond the mark; hitting the post office, the treasury building, the Dominican church, and General Carlos Romulo's newspaper office.

The Ateneo had stored up quite a quantity of food, but the government ordered the cadet organizations to continue their activity and our cadets practically consumed our food supply.

The Red Cross chartered a steamer to evacuate wounded soldiers to Australia and it left Manila on Christmas night, with Father Thomas A. Shanahan as chaplain. I went up to the roof on Christmas Eve night and the only lights visible around the entire horizon were a few fires and the lights of the Red Cross ship. The communities of the Novitiate and San José Seminary moved into the Ateneo. The members of the observatory staff had to give up their rooms and move their beds into the offices.

The Religious Section

1942. The Japanese army brought a religious section, consisting of three Catholic priests, seven or eight Protestant ministers, and some Catholic seminarians, under the command of a colonel. They took the Ateneo grade school, in the Walled City, for their headquarters, and went about Manila, putting signs on churches, convents and ministers' homes, telling the Japanese army to keep out. They wished to win the favor of

the Filipinos. Later on, they brought down four Japanese nuns and seven or eight Catholic girls, and they were expected to go to Catholic schools and propagandize, but it had no effect.

When the Japanese began to round up aliens they commenced at the south end of the city, and checked every house. When they reached the Ateneo they told us to pack up for internment. Just at that time, our superior, Father John F. Hurley, and the Japanese colonel of the religious section were at the house of the Apostolic Delegate. A telephone call brought them hurrying back to the Ateneo, and the colonel had everything postponed until the following day. Then four officers and one of the Japanese Catholic priests came to talk it over with Father Hurley. They were actually interested in obtaining possession of the school building and observatory, and offered us adequate quarters in one of the buildings of the University of the Philippines, almost directly across the street. The conference went on for over two hours and Father Hurley was at his wit's end when his telephone rang. It was a German friend down town who asked how we were making out? Father Hurley said that it looked bad. The German said; "They can not do that to you." Father Hurley hung up his phone, turned to the Japanese and said, "He said you can not do this to us." Without asking any questions, they stood up, bowed and walked out, and we were left alone for a year and a half.

Not being interned in a camp, we had to purchase our own food, and were told not to leave the building except on necessary business, and then wear a red arm band. The school had about ten acres of ground and so this house arrest was not hard on us. The Japanese put the observatory under Filipino civil engineers, but it was a mere matter of form, because they had their own meteorological office in one of the buildings of the University of the Philippines, and no reports were coming in from our weather stations. There was enough paper and chemicals to keep the seismographs in operation for about seven months. The man who replaced me knew nothing about seismology and came to me for advice and information.

About the middle of January, or a little later, certificates were issued by the religious section of the Japanese army granting exemption from internment in Santo Tomas, and on asking for residence tax certificates, which would enable us to go about freely, we were told to wait for a time.

March 5, 1942. Black-out was ordered for Dewey Boulevard and vicinity. This probably included us, and it may have been due to the fact that the Japanese converted the Boulevard into an air strip.

March 29, 1942. Three Japanese officers inspected the Ateneo and said that they would take it over, but nothing happened. About this time, the Filipino chief of police, who was a friend of ours, tipped us off that the Japanese military police were preparing to make a surprise search of our house, and that gave us time to hide anything that we suspected might be taken. Our food supply was scattered, a quantity being put under the bed of each person, so that it would not appear to be very large. No inspection was made.

Bataan Surrenders

Saturday, May 9, 1942. Bataan surrendered today, and at 11:30 P.M. there was a strong earthquake. The floor of my office was made of Philippine hard wood boards, about eight inches wide and very solidly nailed down. During the earthquake it sounded as though the boards were being ripped up, but next morning no change could be seen.

Sunday, May 10, 1942. The Japanese meteorologist came to my office to ascertain the location of the earthquake in order to send a report to Tokyo. He told me that he graduated from the University of Tokyo the preceding June, that he wished to be a scientist, and added, "But now it is war." His living quarters were in the alumni building of the University of the Philippines, almost opposite our building. He was a good pianist, knew Western music, and in the evening we could hear him playing. I asked him to remember me to Professor Imamura of the University of Tokyo, and he said he would. I went to the Philippine General Hospital for a hernia operation.

Monday, May 11, 1942. Dr. Tan operated on me from 11:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. under local anaesthesia. Dr. Tan said that I was not in condition for a spinal anaesthesia and ether is not used much because the Filipinos are subject to ether pneumonia. When he began to sew up the incision the threads broke, and so he had to double every thread; supplies were running low on account of the war. Corregidor surrendered

while I was in the hospital and one day I was given some food which they said came from Corregidor.

Wednesday, June 3, 1942. Returned home today in a wheel chair, because the hospital grounds were adjacent to those of the observatory.

Saturday, July 11, 1942. Permanent release certificates were received today from the religious section of the Japanese army at our grade school. I did not go personally on the ground that I was not sufficiently strong enough to walk that distance. The Japanese were displeased because we did not go to Santo Tomas to receive the certificates, and so we felt that we were still interned in our own house.

Before Christmas, 1942. Canada and Australia sent moderate sized Red Cross packages to the internees in Santo Tomas.

Internment in the Ateneo

During the first eighteen months of the war about one hundred Americans were interned in the classrooms of the Ateneo, on the first floor. One was a placer mine engineer who had worked in Alaska, Panama and Columbia. We had many interesting talks. He was somewhat piously inclined, and every morning he wrote a quotation from Scripture on the blackboard in his room. I loaned him *In the Steps of St. Paul* and he greatly enjoyed it. His roommate had a navy duffel bag and I saw the great advantage of it under the circumstances.

We had some heavy brown canvas, which had been used as an awning, and one of our mechanics took it to a sail maker who made a good duffel bag for me. The Ateneo had a large number of Boy Scout tents, from which Father Hurley had duffel bags made for the Americans, who were liable to internment. It was one of the best provisions made for the internment.

The Japanese meteorological officers searched our library three times, looking for reports from observatories as far as India. It showed their inefficiency because their own observatories should have had these reports and supplied them to the army. Father Charles E. Deppermann hid some reports in which he knew they would be particularly interested.

The Ateneo had a set of loud speakers of various ranges mounted on a movable stand on the stage, and also a good

selection of records. The phonograph was in the projection room of the auditorium and every Saturday afternoon there was a musical program of two or three hours for all of the internees. All of the music was operatic, until the last number and that was "McNamara's Band," which served as a signal that the concert was over.

A prominent American lawyer, Mr. Perkins, was the representative in the Philippines for Thailand, and the Japanese allowed him and his daughter to remain in their house on Dewey Boulevard until he could clear up all official business. After a couple of months he asked Father Hurley if he and his daughter could come into the Ateneo with the other Americans. She had married an American before the war, but he had been called into the service and died in a prison camp. Some time after moving in with us, she went to a hospital to have a baby and then came back and shared a classroom with some other women under my office. I met her on the grounds one day and told her that I could hear the baby crying, but that it did not bother me. I asked her if she could hear my typewriter and she said it sounded like a machine for making shoes. After that I put a pad under it.

June, 1943. The Japanese erected a fence across the school yard, which left the main building, the observatory wing and the astronomical building on one side; and on the other side were the auditorium, three one story wooden laboratories, a small two story students' library, and the industrial chemistry buildings. The Japanese erected an addition at one end of one laboratory building and equipped it with large iron pots over a fire place so that it could be used as a kitchen. Thereupon all the Americans who had been interned in our buildings were taken to Santo Tomas, and we were told to vacate the main building on July 2nd and 3rd. Some of our men went to the retreat house, some to the vacant diocesan seminary, some to the house of the Augustinians in the Walled City, and the rest moved into the auditorium and laboratories. The Japanese did not believe that we could get everything out in two days, but we did it in a little more than one day. We received assistance from the alumni of the Ateneo, some of whom furnished push-carts, from the alumni of the Christian Brothers, from girls brought in by the Belgian Sisters, and from others. The Japanese went about writing their names on pieces of fur-

niture, meaning that it was to be left to them; but Mr. Jaime Neri, S.J., who knew some Japanese, erased their names and wrote something else. We moved out every piece of furniture, the toilet cabinets, and every electric bulb except one at the front door. An American electrician, who had been released from Santo Tomas to work for the Japanese, came in and began to collect all of the mercury vapor lamps. The Japanese tried to follow him, but he would get someone to distract them while he took the bulbs. About three o'clock in the afternoon he was seen going out the side gate, with bulbs under his arm, and he said; "It is getting too warm around here, I had better get out." The electric water coolers were moved over into the observatory wing, where the Filipinos were still on duty.

I took a place in the physics laboratory and found that I had the use of a bureau which had belonged to the daughter of Mr. Perkins, the lawyer—a superb piece of furniture. The first night we were in the laboratory a Japanese sergeant came in from the main building, and said; "Over here all light; over there all black-out." He took some bulbs that must have burned out at once, because they were 110 volts for the laboratory and the voltage in the main bulding was 220.

The best item of food during this period was corn muffins. Father Eugene Gisel connected a small motor to a coffee grinder, and two boys were kept busy all day grinding corn into meal. The first muffins were as hard as bricks, but after that they were put into a large deep pan, with a little water in the bottom of the pan, the pan covered and the muffins steamed. Each person had two muffins each morning. We bought a large quantity of canned corned beef, to be taken with us in case of internment. The cans had Chinese labels pasted over Argentine labels; they were examined regularly, and if any swelling appeared on the ends the meat was used immediately, because the swelling indicated that gas was beginning to form.

Saturday, August 21, 1943. We received anticholera shots by order of the city officials.

Letters Home

During this year, July, 1943-July, 1944, we were offered the opportunity of writing a one page letter to the States, to

be carried on the exchange ship. Nothing was to be said except that we were well; anything else would probably have been censored by the Japanese. The Japanese exchange ship met the Gripsholm at Lourenço Marques in east South Africa.

Father Hurley suggested that if we had anything which we wished to save it might be well to put it in the hands of the families of the Filipino Jesuits. I made up about eight packages of microfilms and historical matter which I had written. Father Charles E. Deppermann put his material in the hands of the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres and everything was lost. Father Miguel Selga entrusted his to a Spanish friend who lived in the Malate district, and all was lost. One day the thought occurred to me that if there should be any fighting in the area that the families would not concern themselves about packages of papers, and I called mine back. The microfilms were placed in a brass box, sealed, and buried under the stage of the auditorium, with the assistance of Mr. Berchmans Copin, S.J. Other material was placed in tin boxes, in which we had received photographic paper for the seismographs, and also buried under the stage of the auditorium, with the assistance of Mr. Francisco Lopez, S.J., who was killed by a sniper during the battle of Manila. After the war they were dug up by Brother Duffy and sent to me. Still other material was placed in the vault of the treasurer of the Mission in the Walled City. There was a safe door opening into the office of the treasurer, and an ordinary wooden door covered the safe door. When the Japanese occupied the house the native Sisters hung a curtain in front of the door, put a statue of St. Joseph on a pedestal in front of the curtain, and the Japanese did not disturb it. After the war, with all wooden construction burned away, the vault was left standing on the first floor walls but the steel door had been warped by the fire and a hole had to be cut through the concrete wall; but everything inside was saved.

June 6, 1944. My weight is 153 pounds; a loss of about twenty-five pounds since the beginning of the war.

INTERNMENT: July, 1944–February, 1945

Strategically, the turning point of the war was the battle of Midway; but for the people, at least in Manila, it was the fall of Saipan. After that the Japanese press in Manila became

bitter. It had been believed that Saipan could not be taken.

Friday, July 7, 1944. About 5:00 P.M. word was passed around for all of the Americans to assemble in the lecture room of the physics laboratory. The roll was called, and a Japanese army officer read an order that all American, British and Dutch subjects, who were not interned, must now go to camp. The order was in Japanese and it was translated for us. Then the army officer left and an officer of the Japanese military police took over. His first question was; "Where is your radio?" He looked rather incredulous when we told him that we had none. Then he told me (I was minister at the time) to call the Filipino Jesuits together in another room, which I did, and then showed him to the room. He told them to prepare our supper while he searched our belongings. This plan was modified. While he made the search in the laboratory, those of us who were living in the auditorium went to supper; and as I had moved to one of the dressing rooms in the auditorium, I was in the first supper group. When the search in the laboratory was completed, we went to our rooms in the auditorium and waited for the search.

My room was the last to be examined and when the officer came in he asked, "Trouble with your eyes?" He had seen me wearing dark glasses and he wore them also. On my desk were some cigarettes made from a local bush, for asthma, and I offered him one, telling him their purpose, but he refused. He found a diary in my trunk and asked its year. I told him that it was a five year diary, and he asked if I wished to keep it, and when I told him that I did, he gave it to me. I think he wished to get rid of it rather than show ignorance by asking the meaning of a five year diary. He found nothing else but a barometer, which he took, and an account book.

Father Henry Coffey's retreat notes were taken, and a boy was left behind in the room to tie them into a bundle. The boy was probably a Catholic, because he said, "Father, I am sorry to do this, but every time we go out we have to bring something back."

We had set up an altar on the stage of the auditorium and the people came in for mass every morning. When the officer left my room he stepped out on the stage, looked around, and then went down into the body of the hall, and said, "Very beautiful temple." He asked that all the men be called together

again, but many had gone to bed. To those who assembled he expressed his thanks for their cooperation.

When he left, after 11:00 P.M., we distributed the articles which had been saved for this occasion; each one receiving an aluminum plate, cup, knife, fork, spoon, five cans of corned beef, a supply of matches and some toilet paper.

The Japanese had used our main building as a hospital, and whenever a group was about to return to duty, they would gather in a room and spend the evening singing weird songs. Their garbage was dumped in one corner of the grounds and produced a horrible stench. At one period they sent their convalescents out to the garbage pile, and they sat there swatting flies, which, it was said, were sent to the city health department for experiments.

One day a strong wind blew down a portion of the fence that separated our buildings, and three of our men saw a Japanese officer on the other side. He said, "You think you are prisoners; over here we cannot have our own thoughts." Then a sentry told him to move on.

Father Coffey was about to go to a convent to give a conference but the Japanese would not allow him to leave the grounds.

We asked the military police officer if Father Arthur McCaffray could be excused from internment on account of his blindness. The officer asked if Father McCaffray could walk, and when told that he could, he said he could not be excused. We were told to be ready at 9:00 A.M. the next morning, and I asked him if we could come later if we provided our own transportation. He considered it and then said, "No."

Father Gisel had something operating in his laboratory and a guard went with him to arrange his apparatus.

Bishop James Hayes had taken up his quarters with the procurator of the Belgian missionaries and after supper the procurator called me and asked what should Bishop Hayes do? I told him that the Bishop's name was not on the list and that he should do nothing. Eventually, Bishop Hayes went to the Santiago Hospital as a patient.

To Santo Tomas

Saturday, July 8, 1944. At nine o'clock some Japanese trucks came in to take us to Santo Tomas. Each person was

given four tags for bed, bedding and baggage. Crouched in one corner of a truck there was a tiny Indo-Chinese nun who had been picked up at the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres. The Japanese wished to close the canvas flaps on the back of the trucks, so that we could not be seen, but we protested and they were left open. The drivers took the most direct route to Santo Tomas where we were put in the gymnasium. The floor had been marked off into squares and we were told to make ourselves comfortable. In the afternoon we were called outside to identify our baggage. Food was brought to us in large cans and dished out to us from the stage of the gymnasium. The internees who brought the food were not allowed to speak to us, but Father Hurley came in, sat on the floor in the midst of a group and was not noticed. He gave us what news he had. This roundup brought in approximately 400 Catholic priests, brothers and nuns, together with some Protestant ministers, their wives, children, and church workers. Sleep was practically impossible because of the hard floors and the mosquitoes.

Religious Internment Camp

Sunday, July 9, 1944. About 4:00 A.M. the entire religious group was taken by truck to Tutuban station and at 5:45 the train started for Los Baños, arriving there about 7:00 A.M. After a long wait in the train we were transported to the camp by truck, arriving there between 10 and 11 A.M. A temporary assignment was made to barracks for a check-up and lunch, after which permanent assignments were made. The Jesuits went to barrack 19.

Before the arrival of this religious group a fence had been erected in the camp, separating fourteen barracks and a kitchen at the east, and higher, end of the camp from the other portion, and this east end became the religious section, known popularly by the lower camp as "Vatican City."

Barrack 20 was occupied by nuns; 19 by priests and brothers; 18 by single and unattached Protestant women, 17 and 16 by Protestant families, 26 by nuns, 25 by priests and brothers, 23 by offices, canteen, clinic, sewing detail, and lost and found office. On August 23rd the priests and brothers of 25 moved into 21, and the nuns of 26 moved to 22, to obtain a better water supply. These moves were made without the

knowledge of the Japanese commandant and he became highly indignant when he heard it.

The chapel was an ordinary barrack building. Four cubicles were removed from the west end to make a large community chapel. The Jesuits erected five small altars in the two cubicles at the east end; other Fathers erected their altars in the other cubicles; Father Joseph Reith and Mr. Leonard G. Hacker, S.J., occupied a cubicle near center. After the merger of the two camps, October 11-13, barrack 12 became the Catholic chapel. The interior arrangement was the same as in the former chapel, but reversed in direction, the community chapel being at the east end. The Protestants had a building as a chapel until the merger in October and then they combined with the Protestants of the lower camp in the use of barrack 5.

General Internment Camp

October 11, 1944. The Japanese army commandeered the permanent buildings of the Agricultural College west of the barracks, except the hospital, which necessitated that all the barracks be used to capacity. Barrack 12 became the Catholic chapel, and, later on, parts of it were used during the day for classes and the sewing detail.

The Hospital. Prior to October 11 the religious camp had its own clinic for minor ailments. To obtain medical treatment, the internees met at barrack 15 at 1:30 P.M. and were escorted to the camp hospital by a Japanese officer and one of the doctors of the religious camp. They returned in the same manner, with whatever articles could be smuggled into the religious camp. After October 11 all had access to the hospital where five American doctors were on duty for periods of two hours. The clinic was open morning and afternoon with male attendant and navy nurses. Dental service for necessary cases was furnished by an American dentist, Dr. Doyle, morning and afternoon. It was a surprise to find Mrs. William E. Hoffman in barrack 18. I met her and her husband in May, 1929, while on the way to the Pacific Science Congress at Java.

The Canteen. This sold fruit, eggs, coconuts, soap, coconut oil, and miscellaneous articles, but the prices steadily increased and the stocks decreased. Father Edmund J. Nuttall, S.J., was on the canteen committee of the religious camp, but after October 11 there was only one canteen for the entire camp and the religious committee ceased to function. Father Nuttall, however, was asked by the chairman of the canteen committee to act as purchaser for the nuns to save them the tedium of standing in line. Each barrack had one purchasing day a week. The

last canteen day was in Christmas week; duck eggs had reached seventeen pesos each, and very small coconuts, 5.50.

The Library. Each internee was allowed to bring a few books to the camp and a library was organized to obtain circulation. Father Irwin, S.J., served on the library committee. After October 11 the religious internees had access to the circulating and reference libraries of the older camp.

Classes. Formal classes of all grades, from kindergarten up, were organized in the religious camp, under the supervision of the wife of a Protestant minister, who had been engaged in educational work and was competent. Father Joseph A. Priestner, S.J., taught trigonometry; Father Russell M. Sullivan taught Latin; and Mr. Gerald Healy, S.J., taught chemistry. Independently of the camp curricula, Father Leo Cullum treated special questions in canon law for the Jesuit scholastics. Father Joseph Mulry gave a series of special lectures on poetry to the Jesuit scholastics, and on the philosophy of literature to the nuns.

Religious Activities. Every afternoon there was a service in the chapel, consisting of rosary, litanies and benediction. Father Cullum conducted a question box with a weekly talk, and after the answers there was a short sermon by another Father. For a time, there was an additional sermon during the week but this was dropped when black-out and air raid restrictions made it inconvenient. Several Jesuits gave private instructions to individuals who had been rounded up by Father William R. McCarthy, M.M., pastor of the lower camp.

Bishop Constancio Jurgens, Bishop of Tuguegarao, was appointed ordinary of the camp by the Apostolic Delegate, and confirmation was administered on two occasions. Father Joseph F. Boyd, O.M.I., was pastor of the Catholic chapel. The outstanding sermon of the internment period was given by Father Mulry on the feast of Christ the King. On the feast of St. Francis, the Dutch Fathers sang St. Francis' Ode to the Sun, during benediction, and a large number of Protestant ministers and their wives attended. Two elderly Episcopalian deaconesses were frequent attendants at the daily benediction.

The ration of mass wine was 40 drops for the Jesuits. Near the end of the internment small hosts were being used for consecration, and very small sections for communions. Bishop Jurgens gave a dispensation for mass without a server, without candles, and without ablutions with wine.

Kitchen. After three days in Los Baños the religious camp had to take over the full operation of its own kitchen, under the direction of Father Gisel, S.J. All cooking was done in cauldrons set in a concrete base, with a firebox under the cauldron.

Entertainment. The Japanese refused to sanction a formal entertainment committee, but concerts were given from time to time. The Ateneo glee club and the Dutch Fathers and Sisters were the most popular entertainment units.

Money. On September 4, 1944, the Japanese ordered that all internees

turn over their money to the central committee for deposit in the Taiwan Bank of Manila. Each internee was then allowed fifty pesos monthly for use in the canteen. The Red Cross issued money to those who were destitute. Many of the civilian internees held on to their money or reported only a portion of it. The Japanese threatened to close the canteen unless all money was turned in but did not carry out their threat.

Barracks. The barracks were constructed of cheap commercial timber and *sawali* (woven split bamboo). They were 200 feet long by fifteen feet wide. There was a longitudinal corridor about five feet wide, with a transverse corridor at the center of the barrack, about six feet wide. The corridors divided the building into four sections, and each section was divided into four cubicles by *sawali* partitions about seven feet high, the corridor side of the cubicle being left open. The floor of the cubicles was raised about eight inches above the ground; some floors were of boards and some of split bamboo. Each cubicle had two *sawali* windows, two meters by one meter, hinged at the top, and supported open by bamboo poles. The roof was made of trusses, connected by two by four perlins, and covered with nipa palm. The cubicles were twenty-four by thirteen feet. Between every two barracks there was a structure divided into two parts; one for men, the other for women. Each section contained four shower heads, latrine and wash trough. There were eight electric lights along the corridor of each barrack. The nuns used sheets to make curtains for the open side of the cubicles. In barracks 16 and 17 the cubicles were enclosed with *sawali* walls and door.

Water Supply. It was very difficult to obtain satisfactory and consistent explanations of the water supply. A dam was built some two or three kilometers from the camp. The Americans told the Japanese that it would not be adequate, and that the water could not be raised to full height without causing the dam to slip, but the Japanese paid no attention. The supply was quite inadequate many times; was never fully adequate in the religious camp, and sometimes failed completely for hours. On one occasion when the supply failed a report was given out that the dam had cracked and squads of workers were taken out to change the route of a certain pipe, and it was said that this would solve the trouble; but it did not. At another time a pipe was found to be clogged with debris. During one period in August, 1944, the internees were allowed to go in groups, under guard, to the stream in back of the hospital to wash clothes. For a day or two after a heavy rain there would be a good flow of muddy water in the taps. After the merger of October 11, the American plumbers adjusted the valves of each bath room so as to ensure some water in all barracks at some time during the day. Frequently we could get water only from one faucet near the floor and only at certain hours.

The drinking water was pumped from a well in the camp area, chlorinated and distributed through a separate system. After the failure of electric current, as a consequence, perhaps, of American bombing, tanks were set up, filled with tap water, chlorinated and receptacles had to be filled from these tanks. Many internees had only clay water jugs.

Jesuit officials. Father Francis D. Burns, S.J., was a member of the central committee of the religious camp. This committee ceased to function after October 11 because the lower camp had equipment and skilled workers. Father Gisel was in charge of the kitchen of the religious camp. Father Reith and Mr. Hacker did invaluable work in setting up and improving the chapels. Father Carroll I. Fasy was monitor of the Jesuit barrack.

Work Details. The work crew had to go to the hills in back of the camp, under Japanese guards, fell trees and cut them into convenient lengths. Carrying details were sent out to bring this wood into the camp; for a time, with a truck; later, on their shoulders. The men's barracks took turns in this wood carrying; those over 55 years of age and those exempted by the doctor did not have to take part in this carrying. The wood-crew then had to split the logs into firewood.

Women, including the nuns, cleaned the rice and vegetables. There were details for cooking, firing the stoves, and carrying the food to the barracks. The nuns did the laundry work for the chapels, and the sewing for the Catholic religious of the camp. The Dutch nuns cleaned the chapel daily. There were also grounds and sanitation committees.

Isolation Hospital. In the latter part of July a number of cases of dysentery appeared and an isolation hospital was opened in the lower camp, and a call was made for volunteers to assist in the work. Fathers Henry C. Avery and Alfred F. Kienle were on duty as orderlies. After the merger of October 11, a portion of one of the barracks in the religious camp was used for isolation purposes. During the last four weeks of the internment Father Vincent O'Beirne also worked as an orderly.

Some Incidents of the Internment

Tuesday, July 11, 1944. One of the Benedictine Fathers said Mass in barrack 19; another in the nuns' barrack. A group of nuns and priests arrived from Baguio.

Wednesday, July 12, 1944. Some of the priests were able to say Mass in the chapel.

Saturday, July 15, 1944. The central committee and the chairmen had a formal meeting with the Japanese commandant. The essence of his talk was that the internees should obey the rules.

Sunday, July 16. First Benediction in the chapel.

Tuesday, July 18. A Japanese general, name not announced, inspected the religious camp, and passed through barracks 16 and 20. He complained to the commandant that the internees did not bow to him. The commandant passed the word that we should bow to any generals who come to the camp, but that

the Japanese officers of the camp were indifferent about bows to them.

Monday, July 42. Brother X, a French Canadian brother (not a Jesuit), who had been in India, and was subject to attacks of cerebral malaria, wandered out of the barracks about 2:00 A.M. and was picked up by Japanese army soldiers. This caused the camp personnel to lose face and a tremendous furor was raised. The blame was put on the internees, regardless of the man's condition. They ordered that the grass be cut for a distance of 10 meters inside the fence, and that the internees do guard duty from 10:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. Neither order was carried out.

Tuesday, July 25. About 10:30 P.M. poor Brother X escaped from the Japanese guard house and ran back into the camp, pursued by the guard. Father Harold A. Murphy and the guards took him back to confinement.

Wednesday, July 26. The Japanese gave permission for Brother X to be present at Mass every day.

Thursday, August 3. Twenty-two patients in the new isolation barrack.

Monday, August 7. The Japanese took photos of the internees, in groups of five.

Wednesday, August 9. Brother X had to be sent to the Philippine General Hospital in Manila; later to the Psychopathic Hospital in Mandaluyon, and was killed by the Japanese in the battle of Manila in February, 1945.

Sunday, August 13. Lula Reyes and her brother came from Manila with some chapel supplies and some furniture.

Monday, August 14. Acute water shortage.

Thursday, August 17. The Japanese order a partial blackout, until further notice, in the barracks.

Friday, August 19. Good water supply; shower baths for the first time in daylight hours.

Sunday, August 20. Meals cooked in the lower camp kitchen to conserve fuel; slim breakfast.

Monday, August 21. Meals becoming smaller.

Friday, August 25. Noon meal today consisted of two small, level, kitchen ladles of rice and about twenty red beans; second helping, one ladle of rice and bean juice.

Thursday, August 31. The commandant states that orders have come from Manila that air raid trenches for the women and children should be dug. The general committee protests that they would be useless and impracticable. Nothing comes of the order. Program at 7:00 P.M. by the Dutch Fathers, Brothers and Sisters in honor of their Queen.

Saturday, September 2. Program at 7:30 P.M. Songs, music, explanation of the water system by an American of the lower camp; talk on camp health by Dr. Honor, Seventh Day Adventist missionary doctor.

Wednesday, September 6. Flood decreasing again. Japanese tighten up on purchases from the Filipinos at the gate. More persons picking edible weeds in the ditches. I found a patch outside my window and pick a plate full every day. Quarters of the Dutch Fathers searched for Philippine money.

Monday, September 11. Funeral of Franciscan Missionary Sister who died of tuberculosis; funeral attended by Episcopal Bishop Binstead who had worked as an orderly and was the last person to whom the Sister spoke. At 5:00 P.M. three truck loads of supplies arrived from Manila, sent by the chaplains' aid society and others.

Thursday, September 14. Air raid alarm at 11:00 A.M. Everybody ordered into the barracks. All clear at 11:30. It was said to be a practice alarm.

Saturday, September 16. The Dutch Fathers receive a severe lecture from the commandant for their "serious crime" of not surrendering their Philippine money.

Sunday, September 17. Air raid alarm from noon till 1:30 P.M. Dinner served in the barracks.

Thursday, September 21. Heavy bombing at 9:00 A.M. and at 3:00 P.M. Everyone in high spirits. Dinner served in the barracks; corned beef for the Jesuits from our private stock. Air raid alarm; complete black-out, except one light in the toilet and one in the center of the barracks. At 8:00 P.M. a heavy explosion in the direction of Manila.

Friday, September 22. Mass in the barracks by Msgr. Casey. Black-out called off at daylight. Bombing three times during the morning. Raid alarm changed to alert at 9:30 P.M.

Saturday, September 23. Masses at 5:00 and 5:30 dropped;

late masses as usual. Alarm, 7:30 to 9:00. On again at 9:30 A.M.

Sunday, September 24. Air raid alarm from 9:00 A.M. until 1:30 P.M. Some bombing far to the north.

Thursday, September 28. Dinner today consisted of two scoops of *lugaw*, i.e., thin rice water. The Japanese labor plan petered out; the night patrol seems to have died a quiet death.

Wednesday, October 4. Drinking water line blocked; supply has to be carried from lower camp.

Thursday, October 5. Distant explosions heard today. The bugle for meals and Father Deppermann's time gong were ordered discontinued some days ago. Fr. Deppermann was known as Father Time.

Friday, October 6. Election of new central committee.

Saturday, October 7. Volunteers called to bring wood down from the hill. Announcement made that the two camps are to be fused; 500 to be moved into "Vatican City." No reason was ever given why the two camps had been separated.

Sunday, October 8. Coffee at 8:00 A.M. Breakfast at 10:15 A.M. Dinner at 4:45 P.M.

Tuesday, October 10. Increased activity in private cooking in the morning; decrease in camp menu.

Wednesday, October 11. A stream of internees from the lower camp moving into upper camp, in rain and slippery mud. Columban Fathers move into our barrack; also Fathers Anthony Gampp and Francis Doino.

Thursday, October 12. Alert off and on during the morning. Water still off; bucket brigade formed.

Friday, October 13. About a hundred internees come from Santo Tomas; they bring interesting news about Manila and Europe. Victrola concert near the kitchen after dark.

Sunday, October 15. Air raid alarm at 9:00 P.M. About twenty planes go south about 11:00 A.M. Bombing heard before and after. Back to alert about 3:15 P.M.

Wednesday, October 18. Air raid alarm about 8:15 A.M. Plane passes over the camp, going southeast, trailing smoke, its engine missing fire; it catches fire, the pilot bails out about half a mile beyond the camp, and the plane dives. A force

of about forty Japanese go out and come back with parts of the plane. It was learned long after that guerrillas came to the aid of the pilot as soon as he landed. A typhoon seems to be passing to the south. Electric line broken; lights out about 8:30 P.M.

Thursday, October 19. Some fifty-odd planes seen going southeast about 2:30 P.M.

Friday, October 20. A perfect day of sunshine. Two large planes, flying very high, going northwest; probably photographing.

Saturday, October 21. Alternate alert and alarm five times during the day.

Tuesday, October 24. Alarm about 7:25 A.M. Antiaircraft fire to the north-northwest. Alert at 9:30 A.M. Two more short raids before 4:00 P.M. Alert about 7:30 A.M. Alarm about 10:00 A.M. At noon it was announced that there will be no water in the higher barracks for eight days, while the water system is being altered.

Thursday, October 26. Alert about 7:15 A.M. Went to the hospital in the afternoon and the doctor prescribed some vitamins. Some Japanese planes went south today, and some returned in the evening.

Saturday, October 28. Full flow of water in the latrines for the first time.

Sunday, October 29. Feast of Christ the King. Some confirmations by Bishop Jurgens in the afternoon. Alert about 7:30 P.M.; it seems that this is to be continuous from now on. Everybody's expectation seems to increase. Fourteen planes were in sight this afternoon.

Wednesday, November 1. Another injection of vitamins received at our clinic. Our lights were said to be unsatisfactorily shaded; they were corrected, but the Japanese did not come for an inspection, as they said they would.

Thursday, November 2. All Souls Day. The Jesuits said only one Mass each today. Vitamin tablets to be issued daily at supper.

Friday, November 3. The Emperor's birthday. About one hundred visitors appeared at the gate but they were refused admission.

Saturday, November 4. Masses moved up one hour today, in expectation of an inspection by the Japanese. Baggage inspected at 12:30 P.M. by the commandant and his staff; seemed to be looking for electrical articles.

Sunday, November 5. Heavy bombing about 7:45 A.M. in the direction of Manila. Flames visible in all directions. My weight is now 64.2 kilograms.

Monday, November 6. Heavy bombing for an hour or so around eight A.M. in the direction of Manila. About 9:30 A.M. a large squadron of planes passed from west to east, south of the camp. About 10:30 A.M. heavy detonations to the NNW. Food ration, 5.5 grams.

Wednesday, November 8. The Japanese allow the Red Cross to buy one short ton of camotes (sweet potatoes) and 350 kg. of camote tops for 16,000 pesos. Small typhoon during the night. At daybreak the wind is already in the west. No drinking water today.

Friday, November 10. Typhoon moving away; squalls increasing.

Saturday, November 11. Heavy detonations heard today. Canteen today.

Sunday, November 12. The central committee emphatically rejected the Japanese work plan, which promised additional rations of rice for five hours work on the farm. Father Leo M. Kinn taken to hospital with beriberi.

Monday, November 13. Many bombers in sight today. My last day at the canteen this month; my quota is spent.

Wednesday, November 15. Duck eggs, fourteen pesos, and coconuts, eight pesos at the gate.

Thursday, November 16. The worst supper so far; a spoon of *gabi* (i.e., greens) and one scoop of stew water, and one of gabi water. Some corned beef from our private supply.

Saturday, November 18. Canteen reduced to garlic and calamansi. Barrack 19 carried wood this afternoon, but got off lightly. To make representation about the food, Bishop Jurgens and some of the central committee called on the commandant who put the blame on Manila. He agreed to give the rice ration to the kitchen by weight, instead of by bags.

Sunday, November 19. Weight, 138.6 pounds. Gordon Thomas, an American lawyer from Cebu, age 68 years, died today of tuberculosis.

Monday, November 20. Father Kinn returned from the hospital. Twenty or thirty truck loads of wounded Japanese are said to have been brought into the Baker Memorial Gymnasium (the Japanese hospital) during the night. Japanese refused to issue salt today; they say it is not available, although there are some twenty sacks in the store room.

Wednesday, November 22. Went to the hospital to get treatment for a cold. Dr. Honor, Seventh Day Adventist, on duty.

Saturday, November 25. Bombing to the north about 8:15 A.M. Squadron of planes passed to the southeast, above the clouds.

Sunday, November 26. Canteen open at 10:00 A.M. Now once a week.

Tuesday, November 28. Japanese released 50,000 pesos for Thanksgiving. They offered to sell us a bag of sugar for 10,000 pesos. The central committee refused and purchased four bags of mongo beans for 22,000 pesos; they also bought red beans for 25,000 pesos. Some mail came in today.

Thursday, November 30. Thanksgiving Day. Good breakfast; three scoops of corn mush, three spoons of grated coconut. Mass and sermon at ten o'clock. General Ko inspected the camp this afternoon, but did not pass through our barrack. No internee was allowed to speak to him, and a year later, at the trial of General Yamashita, he said he received no complaints. Supper consisted of mashed camotes, egg plant, pork and bean soup, and coffee. Corned beef and oleo from our private stock.

Friday, December 1. Monthly canteen money issued, 250 pesos. Father Deppermann lectured on weather, 6-7:20 P.M. A hundred or more internees came from Santo Tomas in Manila.

Saturday, December 2. No more oil for the chapel lights. Barrack 19 carried wood at 2:00 P.M. Canteen open for Group B.

Sunday, December 3. Canteen open for Group C, 10:00 A.M. till noon. My weight is now 135.7 pounds.

Monday, December 4. Three Jesuit Fathers changed cubicles to make place for three Dutch Fathers who are to move in.

Tuesday, December 5. A hundred internees arrived from Santo Tomas in Manila. They were forced to walk from the station, four kilometers; of the many old people in the group, some fainted and had to be hospitalized.

Wednesday, December 6. Northeast monsoon showers for several days, making the nights rather cool. Meals slightly improved during the past week or so. Great hopes for the Red Cross Christmas packages from the States. Last year each internee at Santo Tomas received a 100 pound package. Those in house internment, as we were, did not receive any; although the Maryknoll Sisters went and asked for them. The packages were consigned to the Swiss consul, but the Japanese took them from him, removed the cigarettes, and sold them on the streets of Manila.

Thursday, December 7. There are now 2146 persons in the camp. All are urged to bow to the commandant and to visiting officers. The commandant has not been seen in our section of the camp since a Japanese general made an inspection.

Friday, December 8. High mass at 10:00 o'clock. Breakfast consisted of corn mush, plus private coffee, oleo and condensed milk.

Saturday, December 9. One of the recently arrived internees died last night. The central committee recorded the death as due to starvation, but this displeased the Japanese. Unshaded lights are permitted until further notice, and outside fires until 9:00 P.M.

Monday, December 11. The Chaplains' Aid Association of Manila arrived today with a five ton truck load of presents for Catholics and Protestants; using a truck from the Dominican sugar mill at Calamba. On the truck were Father Muñoz, O.P., a Filipino S.V.D., Jesuit scholastics Federico Martinez and Hilario Lim, and three ladies. They brought nicely wrapped bottles of liquor for the commandant and Lieutenant Konishi, the executive officer, who was back of harsh measures against the internees. The truck was unloaded at the Catholic chapel. They also brought 59,000 pesos, of which the Jesuits received 15,000 pesos.

Tuesday, December 12. Roll call at 7:00 P.M. Partial black-out resumed.

Wednesday, December 13. Roll call at 7:00 A.M. begins. The internees lined up on the road in column of fours. One half of barrack 19 carried wood today. Nine hundred sacks of rice are said to be at the station; transportation difficult.

Thursday, December 14. Bombing this morning in several directions: heavy towards Lipa, to the south. Thirteen planes pass north at 9:45 A.M. Half of barrack 19 carrying wood this afternoon: hard labor. Explosions heard during the night.

Friday, December 15. Planes diving over Lipa this morning. Checkup at 7:00 A.M. by two Japanese. Three hundred internees allowed to go out, under guard, for private wood gathering. Rice and corn being hauled from the station all day; Americans not used for this work.

Saturday, December 16. Heavy explosion and glare to the southeast at 1:30 A.M. Bombing about 8:00 A.M. Private wood gathering again this afternoon. Japanese order windows and side doors covered while lights are on in the evening. In the past three weeks the Japanese rice-corn-camote ration has decreased from 474 grams to 252 grams per person per day.

Sunday, December 17. A beautiful day. Canteen open 12:30 until 2:30 P.M. Total black-out ordered tonight; only emergency lights allowed. My weight is now 141.7 pounds, a gain of six pounds, since the arrival of extra food from Manila. Father Mulry does not show any gain in weight.

Thursday, December 21. The commandant announced that no relief supplies have been received in Manila. Great disappointment to all.

Friday, December 22. Warning bell for roll call will ring at 6:45 instead of 6:55. Barrack 19 carrying wood today. Evening gong at 9:45 and 10:00 will be discontinued.

Saturday, December 23. Father Leo E. McGovern gives a blood donation for a Good Shepherd Sister.

Sunday, December 24. Father Russell Sullivan taken to the hospital about 1:30 A.M. Japanese busy hauling rice from their storeroom at the station; they consider it to be safer from guerrillas if it is in the camp. Midnight Masses by

Bishop Jurgens and Bishop John C. Vrakking, M.S.C.

Monday, December 25. Regular masses begin at 4:00 A.M. Outdoor mass cancelled. Some planes pass over at 11:30 A.M. Said to be land-based planes, which gave everyone great encouragement. Dr. Honor operated on Father Sullivan for adhesions, the operation lasted an hour and a half. The Sisters had made a crib with clay figures moulded by one of the Canadian Brothers. The Protestant ministers wished to see the crib and brought their children. Sisters waited at the door of the chapel to escort them. One of the Sisters had asked a Japanese soldier to bring in greens to place around the crib.

Wednesday, December 27. It is reported that the Red Cross packages are in Kobe, and will be shipped at the end of January. There is but little hope that they will reach Manila.

Thursday, December 28. No more vitamin tablets from the food line. The kitchen will try to obtain unpolished rice. We are now receiving 85 grams of rice and corn per day per person.

Friday, December 29. It was announced that as of January 1st there will be 45,000 kilograms of rice and 6,000 of corn, and no more in sight. Barrack 19 carrying wood this afternoon.

Sunday, December 31. Last ration of private sugar today. Grain ration increased to an actual 100 grams per day. Nearby strafing at 9:00 A.M. More raiding in afternoon.

Monday, January 1, 1945. Beautiful morning; camp in good spirits. Sister Trinita, M.M., arrived this morning after six months in the hands of the Japanese military police. She had been accused of aiding the guerrillas and spying. After her examination she had to be put in a house with some other women until she regained enough strength to travel to the camp. She was put in a box-car with Japanese soldiers, one of whom offered some of his food, telling her that the food in the camp was poor. Twenty-two planes pass to the north flying at a high altitude, and gave gun bursts over the camp, which we assumed to be salutes because there were no Japanese planes in sight. Solemn high mass by the Jesuits; sermon by Bishop Jurgens. Special lunch from our kitchen. It is now

officially stated that the ten-day issue of food is 100 grams of corn and 100 grams of rice per day per person. Nine fast Japanese planes pass south this afternoon. Coffee at a community gathering in the moonlight at 7:45 P.M.

Tuesday, January 2. Captain Williams, an Australian, died last night and was buried this morning; the third burial in the new cemetery near the Catholic chapel. Captain Williams promoted Father Deppermann's lecture on the weather. It is reported that there has been a shift in the garrison and that only ten experienced guards have been left with the recruits to police the camp. The camp has received some gifts (food, etc.) from the International Y.M.C.A. This is probably the same group that adopted this name to placate the Japanese and get some help into the military prison camp at Cabanatuan.

Wednesday, January 3. A squadron of bombers and fighters passed north this morning about 9:45 A.M. The reported increase in the food ration was not apparent this morning: two scoops of watery rice.

Thursday, January 4. A squadron of bombers, 25 or more, and fighters, passed north this morning about 9:30.

Saturday, January 6. A squadron of planes passes north this morning about 9:45. Heavy concussions to the north. Refund of 71 pesos from religious camp money. Two planes strafe in the direction of the town of Los Baños. Heavy bombing in the direction of Manila about 3:00 P.M. A salt ration issued today for which each internee has to pay.

Sunday, January 7. At 12:45 A.M. the camp police were told by the Japanese to collect all the shovels in the camp. At 2:50 A.M. Miss Feeley was awakened and told to hand over the card records on which she had been working. At 3:30 A.M. the central committee chairman and vice-chairman were told that an order had been received to turn over the camp to the American central committee, and that the Japanese would evacuate at 5:00 A.M. Word was passed to avoid any demonstration, because Japanese troops were still in the area. First call was given by the bugle at 6:00 A.M., and at 6:30 A.M. the American flag was raised by Mr. Michael J. Cashman, S.J. and then the British flag by Mr. Hughes. Bishop Binstead, Episcopalian, gave a blessing, recited the Our Father, and

then the flags were lowered to avoid any provocation. Two or three Japanese guards were left at the gate, apparently by oversight, and they were fed by the camp kitchen. A good breakfast at 8:45 A.M. with extra coffee from our private supply. Another sugar ration today from our supply. Jesuits stand guard all night, in two hour shifts, in the chapel, at the Sisters' barracks, and in our own. Heavy explosions heard during the night.

> We had heard, through the grapevine, that American ships had been seen in Verde Island Passage. General MacArthur used this and other means to give the Japanese the impression that he would land south of Manila; hence our garrison left us. This and the actions of other Japanese garrisons in the island camps very effectually contradicted the report, which became very prevalent later on, that the Japanese intended to kill all prisoners and internees.

Monday, January 8. An old man was buried this morning. Squadrons of planes passing north this morning and returning. Some gifts were received at the gate today and yesterday from Filipinos.

Tuesday, January 9. Distant bombing or shelling from 8:00 to 9:00 this morning; again at 9:30 for half an hour, Planes maneuvering to the north, and also in other directions, from 10:00 to 11:00 A.M. Visitors at the gate, near the chapel, morning and afternoon. Many persons selling food to internees. It is thought that the plane activity indicates some land action.

Wednesday, January 10. Prolonged heavy bombing at a distance. Bombing and strafing of Los Baños about 10:30 A.M. Radio news tonight that the Americans had landed at Lingayen Gulf, about 90 miles north of Manila. No lights in the barracks tonight.

Thursday, January 11. Chapel, pump and corn grinder now on the university circuit for current; only emergency lights allowed in the barracks. Priests appointed for duty at the gate and shed to receive gifts for the Catholic group.

Friday, January 12. Bombing and strafing of the railroad and highway from Los Baños to San Pablo.

Saturday, January 13. At 2:00 A.M. the Japanese garrison returned and occupied their former quarters, barracks 3 and 4. They say that they were called away on a special mission

which has now been carried out, and that they have returned to protect us. It is evident that they were expecting a landing at Batangas or Lucena, and were fooled by the landing in Lingayen Gulf. Roll call ordered for 10:00 A.M. and then postponed. No food at noon from the camp kitchen. Supper at 5:30 P.M.

Sunday, January 14. Father Mulry was found on the floor of the latrine and was taken to the hospital about 1:00 A.M. Planes pass north about 9:00 A.M. Mr. Charles E. Wolf, S.J., gave 500 c.c. of blood for a transfusion for Father Mulry. Internees are ordered to assemble on the hospital road at 2:00 P.M. for check-up. The barrack monitors were ordered to assemble at the Japanese office. It turned out to be merely a trick to get us out of the barracks and then search them. Guards were posted to keep us on the road. At 3:00 P.M., when it was realized what the Japanese intended, the internees walked past the guards and returned to the barracks. Orders were given to return to the road, but were countermanded before we reached it. A perfunctory check-up was made in the barracks by a Japanese officer at 3:30 P.M. and they thereby saved face. A quantity of rice bread which had been contracted for by the central committee was brought to the gate but the Japanese would not allow us to receive it. Lights are allowed in the barracks tonight.

Monday, January 15. No morning roll call. Two or three women, representing the barracks, went to the commandant and Lieutenant Konishi and demanded more food; they are said to have been treated roughly, one is said to have called the lieutenant a coolie. The central committee demanded food and were given a midday meal today, and a promise for tomorrow. At 4:00 P.M. it was announced that the Japanese had conceded all points asked: autonomy, three meals, packages at the gate. At 4:30 P.M. rifle fire in the direction of the main road.

Father Mulry was operated on at 10:00 P.M. and died on the table at 10:25. Father Henry W. Greer and Sister Isabel were present. A few evenings later, Dr. Honor, who assisted in the operation, told Father Gisel and myself that they found ulcers of long standing in Father Mulry's stomach, and that a cancer had formed in the ulcers. He had never complained.

Tuesday, January 16. Mass, office of the dead and funeral of Father Mulry at 7:00 A.M. Fifth burial in the new cemetery.

During the absence of the Japanese garrison each internee was given ten kilograms of rice, as an emergency ration. Last night more rice was distributed to the barracks with as much secrecy as possible, but the Japanese learned of it and today they demanded that it be returned.

Heavy and prolonged bombing nearby and to the NW. Ten youngsters were arrested for waving to the planes. Lieutenant Konishi drove Filipinos away from the gate. Japanese guards shot an internee who was coming into the camp in back of the soap house. The Japanese commandant concedes the request of the central committee that we supply ourselves, receive gifts at the gate, etc. It is said that there are a hundred bags of rice in the store house for the Japanese garrison of eighty men, and 300 bags for 2140 internees.

Wednesday, January 17. At 7:00 A.M. the burial of the internee who was shot yesterday. Bombing to the NW at 9:00 A.M. as yesterday. It is becoming more difficult to secure food from the outside; a big factor being the attitude of the Japanese towards the Filipinos who bring the food. Check-up 2:30 P.M. in the barracks by a high officer from Manila. Election of a new central committee at 3:45 P.M. Back to half rations at supper.

Thursday, January 18. New central committee; Calhoun, Cecil, DeWitt, Heichert, Watty, and Harris. The Japanese order that the radio set taken from their barracks, when they left us on January 7, be returned by 3:00 P.M. tomorrow, otherwise they will refer the matter to the military authorities. Father Coffey taken to the hospital after dinner with a heavy cold. No lights tonight. Heavy explosion to the southeast in the evening. Two planes very low over the lake. No result from the order about the return of the radio set.

Friday, January 19. It was announced at breakfast that the radio set had been returned; and this relieved the tension. It was learned later that the radio set which was returned was not the Philco set which had been taken from the Japanese barracks, but nothing further came of the matter.

Saturday, January 20. Very heavy rain, 5-6 A.M. Low

ceiling, planes over the lake about 8:30 A.M. Thirty-one planes go north over the lake at noon; more at 12:30 P.M. west of Mt. Makiling. Japanese take over the University power plant and allow four services: the pump, the corn grinder, the hospital, and the reefer.

Sunday, January 21. The central committee announces that with proper rationing our grain supply will last until February 14, i.e., two meals a day, and lunch if anything comes through the gate. Moderately distant bombing, followed by air raid signal. Some internees detect signs that the Japs are ready to pull out. Heavy explosions east and north. Air raid signal off about 6:00 P.M.

Monday, January 22. Planes passing north about 9:15 A.M. Solemn Requiem High Mass for Father Mulry at 9:00 A.M., arranged and celebrated by non-Jesuit clergy; panegyric by Bishop Jurgens. Father Fasy elected monitor of barrack 19; Father Boniface Axtmann, O.S.B., assistant monitor.

Tuesday, January 23. Flares and heavy bombing to the southeast at 3:15 P.M. At 4:30 P.M. an internee, age 42, died. The Japanese tore down the electric line between the well and our chapel. Father Coffey returned from the hospital.

Wednesday, January 24. Heavy explosions during the night. One plane over the lake from 9:00 to 10:00 A.M. Air raid signal on all day.

Thursday, January 25. Air raid signal on about 9:00 A.M. and off at 6:00 P.M. This becomes the daily routine; the obvious purpose being to keep us off the roads. No lunch from the camp kitchen. Jesuit community lunch at 8:00 P.M. in the moonlight. Father Deppermann appointed the official timekeeper of the camp. He erected a fifteen-foot board with a hole near the upper end which would throw an image of the sun on a meridian line.

Friday, January 26. Mr. Albert F. Grau, S.J., taken to the hospital about 4:30 A.M.. Operation for abcess on liver by Dr. Nantz. Air raid signal at 8:00 A.M. Fire on the east side of the lake burning all day.

Saturday, January 27. Air raid signal at 8:15 A.M.. A few planes over the lake at 9:15 A.M. Strafing along the lake shore in afternoon.

Sunday, January 28. Many planes going north this morning. An internee, Reynolds, of the Pan-American Company, threw his bags over the fence and was shot through the shoulder as he attempted to crawl under the fence, in back of the shop. He had been warned by the Filipinos not to attempt it. A half an hour later, when the American planes had disappeared, he was carried on a door to the sentry box. At 8:15 he was taken about 50 yards outside the camp and shot by the guards by order of the commandant. The body was turned over to the American doctors. Father Boyd gave him conditional absolution, from a distance, before the shooting. Burial at 11:30 A.M. At 10:00 A.M. a severe warning was given that internees should stay off the roads during air raid periods, which means all day. Gates closed; nothing allowed to come in. Order given that all are to assemble on the road at 6:30 A.M. for a check, and no one is to leave the barracks after 7:30 P.M.

Monday, January 29. Check-up on road from 7:00 to 7:30 A.M. Air raid signal, as usual, about 8:30 A.M. Distant bombing to the north. The Japanese take over the food administration again, saying that the Americans have demonstrated their inability to provide. They promise 300 grams of rice per person per day.

Tuesday, January 30. No check-up this morning because several of the Japanese staff went to Manila last night. Mass at 7:30 this morning; no candles: vigil lights. Insufficient light for earlier Masses.

Wednesday, January 31. Heavy bombardment last night. The Japanese announce that our grain ration will now be 240 grams per day; 25 of corn and 215 of rice.

Thursday, February 1. All hoping that the internment will end very soon. A group of four-motored bombers goes south about 12:15 P.M. Lieutenant Konishi announces that seven sacks of rice and one of corn will be issued to the camp daily. This means less than 200 grams daily per person.

Friday, February 2. Heavy distant shelling to the northwest last night. Explosions to the east. Eight bombers go north about 8:00 A.M. No electricity in the hospital last night. Some internees have disappeared from barrack 28.

Sunday, February 4. Heavy firing to the north all night, tapering off about noon. Two nearby explosions.

Tuesday, February 6. Heavy shelling again last night to the NNW. Some seemed closer than on preceding nights. Heavy firing and bombing to the NNW this morning. The commandant now has a horse.

Wednesday, February 7. Heavy firing to the NNW last night and this morning. Increased bartering at the gate; the Japanese guards acting as middle men. A Japanese guard was cut up by a Filipino, outside the gate this morning, and all bartering was stopped. Firing to the SSE at 4:00 P.M. Very heavy explosion to the northeast at 10:00 P.M. We never obtain any explanation of these explosions.

Thursday, February 8. A quiet morning; cloudy; all seem to be in a depressed mood. Two planes over the camp at 3:40 P.M. The soldier who was knifed yesterday was buried outside the gate at 6:45 P.M.

Friday, February 9. Sound of battle to the NNW from 8:00 A.M. till 4:00 P.M. Rifle and machine gun firing on the road outside the camp, 6:00-7:00 A.M. Large fire to the NNW at 3:00 P.M. Battle of Manila.

Saturday, February 10. Some planes passing during the day. A few distant explosions heard. Reflection of large fire towards Manila in the evening. The Japanese confiscated our push cart; food had to be carried to all barracks. Heavy firing to the northwest last night and this morning. Again 4:00 to 5:00 P.M. Heavy rain till morning. One of the most quiet days that we have had. A novena ended this morning, and our community commenced another to St. Joseph. Five trucks of grain brought into the camp last night and put into barrack 3; said to be a military supply.

Monday, February 12. Firing to the northwest last night and this morning. Ito made the check-up alone this morning.

Tuesday, February 13. Maryknoll Sisters celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary. A few planes pass this morning. Bishop Jurgens made an appeal to the Japanese for two more bags of rice daily. He was told that bridges are down and that transportation is difficult, and that everyone is starving, American citizens as well as American soldiers at the front.

At 6:30 P.M. the Japanese made a thorough search of the old kitchen and the shop; looking for radio sets. This afternoon they collected all picks and shovels; another sign of evacuation. Artillery practice in the hills towards San Pablo from 6:00 P.M. till dark; unless the Japanese were trying to shell the guerrillas.

Wednesday, February 14. Artillery fire again this morning, 7:00 to 8:00 A.M., towards San Pablo. Air raid rules read and emphasized in each barrack, at 6:30 P.M. All must be present at the morning check-up; no exception for Mass.

Thursday, February 15. Masses begin at 7:20 A.M. after the checkup. All quiet today; and all looking for early release, because it is believed that the American forces have pushed south from Manila. Mr. Grau returned from the hospital. Internee Shaw died of beriberi. Fire to the southeast, 8:00-9:00 P.M.

Friday, February 16. Heavy bombing to the north and northwest at 9:00 A.M. Heavy volume of smoke to the southeast at 10:00 A.M. Japanese still complain of violation of check-up rules. The northeast wind brings loud shouts of the Japanese practicing their stave fencing. Internee Moak died and was buried today; cause, starvation. The grave diggers are having difficulty keeping ahead of the deaths, because of their weakness; extra men are put on. Fire to the southeast at 8:00 P.M.

Saturday, February 17. Rifle shots at the chapel corner sentry box at 3:00 A.M. Two planes circle low over the camp three times. The Japanese collected the axes again, but returned them. Internee Whitmeyer died of tuberculosis and was buried today. Planes fly low over the camp at 4:45 P.M. and some interpret this to mean an early release.

Sunday, February 18. Various and many rumblings and explosions during the night. Fire this morning towards San Pablo. Internee Campbell died today. Heavy strafing to the west this afternoon; probably destroying the Japanese battery in a quarry about a mile west of us.

Monday, February 19. Internee McGill, an Episcopal minister, died last night. Instead of issuing rice, as promised, the Japanese gave eight sacks of corn and thirty-six of un-

polished rice; but only twenty-five kilograms to a sack, instead of the usual fifty.

Tuesday, February 20. Internee Blair, a Protestant minister, died at 6:30 A.M., weakened by a long spell of dysentery. A heavy raid nearby at 8:30 A.M. by thirty or more planes. The Japanese escorted some civilians through the camp this afternoon, and this gave rise to a report that the military is pulling out.

Wednesday, February 21. Heavy firing to the northwest all last night. Half kilogram of unpolished rice given to each internee, to last until Friday night. Watery vegetable soup for supper. The Japanese threaten: "If they leave the camp within the next two or three days conditions will be different from their last departure; the penalty will be shooting for attempts of the internees to leave the camp, for Filipinos dealing with the camp, or for attempts to contact the guerrillas." In other words, we must remain in camp and starve. We were fearing that if the Americans advanced down the wĕst side of the lake and the garrison withdrew, we would be caught between the fire of the two forces.

Thursday, February 22. Washington's Birthday. Shelling and bombing began about 6:00 P.M. last night and continued until about 9:00 this morning. Breakfast from our own kitchen; stewed rice and fresh talinum, mango tea. Bombing and strafing nearby, W and NW, from 4:00 to 5:00 P.M. by ten planes.

Friday, February 23. Rescue by American forces. Account of this will be given below.

Religious Census of the Internment Camp, before October 11, 1944.

Jesuits	76
Missionaries of the Sacred Heart	32
Redemptorists	12
Society of the Divine Word	12
Congregation of Immaculate Heart	11
Congregation of the Holy Cross	10
Christian Brothers	8
Dominicans	7
Mill Hill Fathers	6
Columban Fathers	4
Benedictines	3

Maryknoll Fathers	2
La Salette Fathers	2
Capuchin (Indonesian)	1
Quebec Foreign Mission Society	1
Salesian Fathers	1
Vincentian Fathers	1
Apostolic Missionary (Canadian)	1

Domestic Prelate. Monsignor Casey.
Census taken by a Maryknoll Father by order of the Central Committee.

Groups of Catholic Sisters in the Internment Camp.

Maryknoll Sisters	47
Franciscan Missionaries of Mary	22
Good Shepherd Sisters	9
Immaculate Conception Sisters	9
Franciscan Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament	9
Sisters of the Holy Cross	6
Holy Ghost Sisters of Perpetual Adoration	2
Benedictine Sisters	2
Sisters of Charity	1
St. Paul de Chartres Sisters (Indo-Chinese)	1

Protestant Groups in the Internment Camp, prior to October 11, 1944.
(After that date there was an increase in numbers.)

Seventh Day Adventists	60
Presbyterians	48
Episcopalians	25
Methodists	19
Church of Christ	8
Baptists	8
Christian Missionary Alliance	7
Plymouth Brethren	7
Congregational	4
Independent Christian Missionaries	4
Penial Missionary Society	3
Evangelical Church	2
United Brethren	2
Assemblies of God	2
Quakers (Friends)	1

Some Addenda to the Internment Period

All of the Sisters discarded their starched pieces of costume and simply wore a black veil over their heads.

A number of persons used *bakyas* in the camp. They are thick wooden sandals with a leather toe piece, and very good in muddy ground. They slip off if worn with socks or stockings. One day a Maryknoll Sister

was wearing a pair and a Protestant minister complimented her on her pretty ankles.

One day while the women and the nuns were cleaning the rice, a Seventh Day Adventist woman told one of the Sisters that before the internment they had agreed among themselves to refuse to be interned with Catholics; but since the internment they felt differently about it. The Japanese gave them no opportunity to take a stand on it.

Before we went to Los Baños the Americans had been allowed to go out on a truck, under guard, to purchase supplies from the Filipinos, but this had been stopped when we arrived, and the doctors said that we were in worse physical condition than those already in the camp.

The Japanese occupation money was known as Mickey Mouse money by the Filipinos.

Our camp was on the grounds of the Agricultural School of the University of the Philippines, and was the second erected in that neighborhood. The first was blown down by a typhoon because the Filipino carpenters stole half of the nails while erecting the buildings.

The Seventh Day Adventists put on their best clothes on Friday evening and did no work until Sunday morning. We used their tools on Saturdays and they used ours on Sundays. Dr. Honor, Seventh Day Adventist doctor, the second best in the camp, remarked that he was becoming interested in the Catholic services because they did not last as long as his.

Before the merger of October 11th, one of the members of my construction crew, was a Methodist minister who had been teaching in their seminary in Manila. On Christmas day he came to our barracks to greet me and met Msgr. Casey, to whom he said, "After this experience I can not talk as I did before." Probably, he had not been very complimentary to Catholics.

One of our projects was the erection of a covered passage way between barracks 17 and 18, so that the men in 17 would have protection from rain in going over to use half of the toilet building between 18 and 17. Dr. Cook, a Presbyterian minister, drew the plan for this passage, and it was a perfect piece of draftsmanship. He was a graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and he and his wife had spent twenty-five years in Korea. When the Japanese forced out some missionaries, the Cooks came to the Philippines and were caught there by the war. They were a delightful couple and I frequently visited them. On Christmas day, Dr. Cook gave me a tray, which he had made, and it was beautifully done. After returning to the States he obtained a parish in northern Pennsylvania, and sent me a card every Christmas. One year, in January, I received a card from Mrs. Cook telling me that her husband had dropped dead, and she has continued sending a card every Christmas.

There were two Episcopal bishops in the camp. One of them, Bishop Binstead, came from a family on MacArthur Boulevard, outside of Washington, and he was a very charming man. He worked as an orderly in the hospital, and was the last person to speak to the Franciscan nun who

died, and he came to her funeral. The other bishop was more reserved.

Before the two camps were merged on October 11, 1944, a guard was stationed at the gate between the two camps. One of the guards spoke English and was very friendly with the youngsters until he saw an officer, and then he became very stern. He said he was from St. Louis, had been visiting in Japan and was caught by the war. The youngsters called him St. Louis Joe.

While I was in charge of the construction work in the religious camp the superior of the Maryknoll Sisters asked me to put partitions around the four shower heads in the bath room to give more privacy. I gathered material, asked two Dutch Brothers to do the work, and we made four cubicles. The Sisters gave us cookies.

The monitor of barrack 18, occupied by single and unattached Protestant women took a vote on cubicles and it was about 50-50. She asked me to put in two cubicles, saying; "There are two Episcopal nuns, who are 70 years of age, and have not taken a bath since we have been here." Two Protestant ministers offered to do the work. One young woman came in and asked; "What is going on here?" I told her that we were putting partitions around two of the showers. She said; "Gosh, that will destroy all sociability."

At the beginning of the war my weight was about 180 pounds. There was a platform scale in the kitchen of the internment camp, and the internees were allowed to use it on Sunday afternoons. At the end of January, 1945, I weighed something between 125 and 130 pounds, but the effort of walking back to the barracks, up hill but not steep, was so great that I did not go down again. It was a month before we were rescued and my weight probably went down to 120 pounds.

After returning to the States I obtained from Captain Ringler, Fort Benning, Ga., a copy of the official orders for the rescue. Captain Ringler took part in it as a paratrooper.

The Rescue

February 23, 1945. Immediately after the capture of Manila, General MacArthur ordered the rescue of the Los Baños internees but the division commanders asked for a delay until they could reorganize their units. The day was set for February 22nd, but a report that Japanese troops had been seen on the road caused the postponement of the rescue until the 23rd. Information had to be communicated to the guerrillas, east, south and west of the camp, and special precautions had to be taken to prevent the news from getting to the Japanese and to the American newsmen.

A reconnaissance platoon was sent down the lake two nights before the rescue, in native boats, to select a place for the paratroopers to drop and a beachhead for the amphibious

tractors. They were popularly known as alligators because of their appearance when coming across the water. The platoon hid in the woods during the day, and on the morning of the rescue sent up smoke columns from the two selected places.

American intelligence had ascertained that the nearest body of Japanese troops of appreciable size was located at San Pablo on the south side of the mountain that rose in back of the camp, and that they could not reach the internment camp in less than three or four hours by truck. About a mile to the west of the camp there was a battery of two large guns, in a stone quarry, but they were demolished by the strafing on the 20th. A machine gun squad moved into Mayondon Point on the 21st but that was not a menace.

Nine C-47 planes were used to carry 114 paratroopers from Nichols Field just south of Manila. The paratroopers slept beside the planes during the night before the rescue. Fifty-four amphibious tractors were used.

They went down the west side of the lake (Laguna de Bay) the second night before the rescue, and, during the day, hid under the trees at take-off point. They left the beach in the dark, about 4:00 A.M., in six columns of nine machines each and steered by compass. This was the first operation of its kind; previous movements had been from ship to shore. On reaching a certain point in the lake they executed a right flank move and headed for the south shore. They carried ground troops whose duty it was to hold the main road to the east and west of the camp against possible Japanese attack. During the night the guerrillas closed in on the camp and hid in the grass.

The signal for the beginning of action was the dropping of the first paratrooper from a plane. He appeared on scheduled time, 7:00 A.M. The guerrillas began firing into the sentry boxes, and the first amphibious tractor hit the beach at 7:02. The warning bell had rung at 6:55 for the internees to line up on the road for the daily check-up, but the sound of the planes caused us to hesitate and remain inside. The Japanese did not wish us to be on the roads when planes were passing over, and they themselves did not wish to be in the open.

When the firing commenced, we dropped to the floor be-

cause the bullets were flying about with a whining sound, impinging on the beams of the barracks with sharp thuds. After a period of time which seemed about fifteen or twenty minutes, there was a lull, and the firing resumed when the paratroopers approached the camp. There were 82 in the Japanese garrison and those not on guard duty were just coming out of the barracks for setting-up exercises. It is said that all were killed quickly, except Lieutenant Konishi, the executive officer, who was in Manila at this time. In a previous account, written by an American officer, who did not take part in the rescue, it was stated that not a shot was fired into the camp. No shots were fired at the internees but there was no wall to stop the bullets.

After the firing ceased we were told to pack and be ready to leave in fifteen minutes. I emptied my suitcase and duffel bag on the bed and selected the articles I wished to take, including the mosquito net, because I did not know to what place we would be taken. I took the duffel bag and left the suitcase.

In the meantime, two amphibious tractors each flying a small American flag on its radio rod, had driven in between our barracks and that of the Protestant women; as soon as I finished packing, I went out and got into one, the tailboards having been let down. We waited there for what seemed to be an hour or more; the reason being that we were at the far end of the camp, and the other amphibious tractors which had parked on the ball field, had to load and get away. We finally started and, as we drove down the road, we could see the coconuts which the Japanese would not allow the Filipinos to sell to us. There was nothing to hold to except the top edge of the side of the amphibious tractor and, in crossing ditches, those who had no hold were tossed about. As we left the camp, the barracks on both sides had already been fired by the Americans and were quickly burning. One American, who had saved quite a quantity of clothing, wished everything to be taken out, but the army simply set fire to the barracks and burned him out. In the end he had less than anyone else.

When we reached the lake and drove into the water, the running was perfectly smooth at about four miles an hour. The total distance that we traveled on water was seven miles.

Mr. Grau had brought a small quantity of food and it was passed around, and some of the soldiers gave their rations to internees. Those who could not be accommodated in the amphibious tractors were formed into line and marched to the beach, under guards to await the return of the amtracs, and the guerrillas carried their baggage.

In passing Mayondon Point we were fired upon by the Japanese machine gun which had moved in there the preceding day, but, inside the amtrac we were perfectly free from danger. Each amtrac carried a 50 mm. and a 30 mm. machine gun on the roof of the driver's cabin, and our man fired one burst with the 50 mm. machine gun against the Japanese, and then the gun jammed. He began to take it apart, and he was too close to the line of fire to allow the other man to use the 30 mm. gun. The reverberation from the 50 mm. gun seemed to concentrate in the amtrac and I was deaf in my left ear for two days. I heard that Father Cullum and a civilian internee were seated on the platform of an amtrac filled with Maryknoll Sisters. At one point their amtrac lurched from side to side and both men were thrown off. Both were fished out, but not even the driver could explain the cause.

We drove over to Gulod, on the west shore of the lake and up on the beach where the tailboards were let down. An ambulance crew passed each amtrac, asking if there were any stretcher cases inside. Father Downey, of our amtrac, said, "No, we are alright," and then passed out in a dead faint, and was carried off on a stretcher. Aerial cover for the operation was provided by two or three P-40's, which flew low over us until all were transferred from the beach at Gulod. This was a sufficient force because the Japanese air force had been practically wiped out.

As soon as the amtracs were emptied they went back to Los Baños to pick up the remaining internees. The detachment of ground troops which had been assigned the duty of holding the road to the west of the camp, was under orders to continue westerly until they joined the American troops coming down the west side of the lake, and fight their way through the Japanese if necessary. After the second group of internees was loaded into the amtracs it was found that there

was space for all of the ground troops, including those to the west.

The Americans had detailed four or five open trucks to transport the internees to Muntinlupa, fifteen miles to the north. Muntinlupa was a penitentiary which had been completed a few years before the war. The Japanese had continued to use it as such, and when the Americans captured it, only a few days before our rescue, they released all of the political prisoners. When the internees moved in, it was given the name Hospital Camp, and a few criminals who remained, with ball and chain on their legs, were used to sweep the paths. It was the only place available in the vicinity of Manila to house our group.

With 2100 internees collected on the beach at Gulod it was impossible to get into a truck unless one happened to stop just at the spot where you were standing, and so, after one or two attempts, I gave up and sat on my duffel bag to wait. Some Filipino boys had some fruit for sale, but they would take only American money, which very few persons had. A few persons, of whom I happened to be one, received a cup of coffee which had been brought for the paratroopers.

I sat on my bag, in the sun, from 11:30 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. and then a soldier came over to us and said that he had an ambulance with only two stretcher cases and that four of us could ride. It was covered and far better than standing in an open truck. Being among the last to reach Muntinlupa, we found the buildings filled, and about fifteen of us occupied a tent, which was far more comfortable than being crowded in a concrete building, sleeping two high on bunks. The buildings were about 500 feet long, and about thirty feet wide. By six o'clock in the evening, all of the internees and the troops who took part in the rescue were safely in Muntinlupa. We were surrounded by a high fence, with guards posted, but we felt completely free after being rescued; one has to experience this in order to appreciate it. Shots were heard outside every night because this area had been taken by the Americans only a few days before, and some Japanese snipers were around.

There was only one line for supper on this first evening, and two lines for breakfast. Serving was greatly slowed

down by a shortage of utensils, but that was soon remedied. Four tents were erected outside the kitchen and provided with tables and seats where meals could be eaten. On one of the first days an American internee held up his plate and said, "The Japs told us that all Americans are starving." Large cans of scalding water were provided, in which the internees washed their utensils, but after a few days the army took over this task and the internees washed only their cups. Some days later meals were served according to barracks and this eliminated the long wait in line.

On the morning of the second day the Red Cross gave small cotton bags to carry safety razors, blades, soap, towel, comb, and toothbrush and paste. Later on, each one was given a shirt, and there were special distributions every day: candy, cigars, etc. Altars were set up in a large hall and many Masses a day were made possible. Archbishop Michael J. O'Doherty, Father Hurley and several Filipino scholastics visited the camp. If an internee had a place to go, means of transportation, and means of subsistence he could obtain a release from the army authorities. Father Hurley took several back to Manila to assist in relief work. Passes to Manila could be obtained for reason and transportation had to be by hitchhike; otherwise no one was allowed to leave the camp. Movies were shown on some evenings and some music was provided. For a few days we could hear firing to the northeast where the Americans were driving the Japanese into the hills.

On the first day in Muntinlupa we did not receive much more food than we had been receiving in the internment camp, but the quantity was increased carefully every day. One day word spread around that mashed potatoes could be found on the dump, and the internees turned out with any container they could find. This was soon stopped by an armed guard, to prevent overeating.

The trucks which were bringing food from Manila were ambushed one night and then planes began to drop food by parachute. It was in packing cases, and one day a plane passed low over me, as I was walking along a road, and dropped a case. I did not know which way to jump and the case did not miss me by much, the parachute not having time

to open. The parachutes were made of blue nylon, and as soon as they dropped, the Dutch Sisters were out with their scissors and made quick work of the parachutes.

On March 10, 1945, Father Deppermann and I had an opportunity of leaving for the States, but he did not take advantage of it because he was feeling unwell and did not know what accommodations would be available on shipboard. He asked me to send word to his brother, on reaching San Francisco, that he would come as soon as possible. When I reached San Francisco on April 9, 1945, I learned that Father Deppermann had already passed through. The army was planning the invasion of Okinawa and a professor of meteorology at Penn State told the officials that if they wished to know anything about Pacific weather they should contact Father Deppermann. The air force located him at Muntinlupa and flew him to Washington immediately. When he entered Gonzaga, emaciated, in GI clothes, carrying a duffel bag, he was thought to be a tramp until an older member of the community recognized him.

This period was succinctly summed by an American who taught history for the Christian Brothers in Manila, when he said, "It was a terrible experience, but I would not have missed it for the world."

Internment of Father Hurley. Father John F. Hurley was called to Fort Santiago, the headquarters of the military police, and questioned over a considerable period, but he was allowed to return home. Later on, he received a phone call from Santo Tomas and was told he must report for internment. I think this was on Monday and he told them he could not be ready until Wednesday. The Japanese agreed and then he asked if they would send for him. The phone was abruptly hung up. Miss Feeley, an Episcopalian church worker, who had been in Japan and knew the language, was working in the office of Santo Tomas and was later moved to Los Baños. She said that when Father Hurley asked the Japanese if they would send for him the officer became furious, slammed down the phone, and said, "He wants us to send for him."

The Incident of the Bayonets. When the Ateneo cadets were disbanded the rifles and bayonets were left behind in

the Ateneo. That was the reason for a guard being stationed at the gate, who every day looked through the window of the rifle room to see that they were still there. Finally, the rifles were removed, the bayonets left behind, and the guard taken away. An exchange of notes took place between Father Anthony Keane, the minister of the Ateneo, and Father Vincent Kennally, superior of the retreat house at Santa Ana. The bayonets were sent to Santa Ana and Brother Edward J. Bauerlein threw them into the Pasig River. The notes of Father Keane and Father Kennally fell into the hands of the Japanese and led to a search of the house and the arrest of Fathers Keane, Kennally and Horacio de la Costa. Father Bernard F. Doucette was also arrested for having a barometer in his possession; and Father Mulry because he had photos of Tokyo after the earthquake of 1923, which he had obtained from Father Mark McNeal. The prisoners in Fort Santiago were obliged to sit on the floor with their backs against the wall from 7:00 A.M. until 7:00 P.M.; and lie on the floor during the night. If a guard saw anyone slouching, he would throw something at him through bars of the door, or call him outside and slap him in the face.

Father Mulry told the officer that he had forgotten about the pictures. The officer asked what he would have done if he had remembered them. The Japanese suspected that they were to be used in the States to show the destruction of Tokyo by bombing. Father Mulry said; "I would have thrown them away, because you would not understand." The officer asked if Father McNeal had obtained help in the States, and if he were still living. Fr. Mulry said that Father McNeal had obtained help in the States and was dead. The officer stood up, removed his hat and said, "We salute Father McNeal." He reported that Father Mulry was innocent and went away on business. He returned a month later and found that Father Mulry was still in confinement. He raised a storm in the office and Father Mulry was released. When the latter returned home, he had only his shoes, trousers and undershirt. He said, "Kempis was wrong when he wrote: Cella continuata dulcescit."

The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and Recent Gospel Study

Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.

Recent developments in the Catholic interpretation of the Gospels seem to create a problem for many preachers and retreat masters, especially for those who are accustomed to give the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. It is not the key meditations, like the Principle and Foundation, Sin, the Kingdom of Christ, the Two Standards, etc., which are affected by these developments, but the contemplations on the "mysteries of the life of Our Lord" in the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks. It seems that the new scriptural trends make the retreat master uneasy, when he presents a contemplation in the more or less classic manner. Some have apparently been reproached by retreatants who complain that the manner of presentation of such contemplations is not up-to-date, and corresponds neither to the questions in the minds of those who have been trained according to the "new approach" to Scripture, nor takes sufficient account of basic and fruitful biblical themes. More specifically, it is felt that the "new approach" has eliminated the historical element of the Gospel episodes and has thereby swept the props from under the Ignatian contemplations themselves.

Francis J. McCool, of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, has already addressed himself to certain aspects of this problem.[1] He has rightly stressed the *type of history* which is used in the Gospels and tried to allay the fears represented by the feeling expressed at the end of the preceding paragraph. There is no need to rehash this historical aspect of the problem which he has handled so competently, but

[1] "The Preacher and the Historical Witness of the Gospels," *TS* 21 (1960) 517-43; "The Modern Approach to the Gospels and the Spiritual Exercises," *A Cooperative Study of the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, Held at Fordham University June 28, 29 and 30, 1961* (New York: Kohlman Hall, 1961), pp. 167-99. The reader will also consult with profit V. T. O'Keefe, "Towards Understanding the Gospels," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 171-89; D. M. Stanley, "The Conception of our Gospels as Salvation-History," *TS* 20 (1959) 561-89; J. L. McKenzie, "The Bible in Contemporary Catholicism," *Catholic World* 193 (July 1961) 225-32.

there are many other aspects on which a few reflections may be permitted. These reflections will touch on the problem itself and its origin, and then concern themselves with some suggestions for a solution.

Reflections on the Problem Itself

How does the problem arise? I believe that the situation described above is created by two factors. On the one hand, there is the "new direction" in modern Catholic scriptural studies, a "new approach" which dates mainly from the time of *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943).[2] To deny it or ignore it is to play the ostrich; it is found in countless Catholic books and articles and is used widely in Scripture courses of seminaries throughout the world. It is an approach with which all who use the Scriptures will have to reckon sooner or later. On the other hand, certain phases or expressions in the *Spiritual Exercises* themselves seem to have been pressed more than Ignatius himself may have intended. A re-examination of some of them well may permit the retreat-master to adopt the "new approach" and profit by some of the richer insights into Scripture which this approach has uncovered, and which previous generations of retreat-masters may never have suspected. In other words, the problem seems to be two-faced and it will be well to approach it from both of these angles.

I

Divino afflante Spiritu, the encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the promotion of biblical studies, stimulated a new approach to the Scriptures in recommending to Catholic exegetes the serious study of the literary forms in which the ancient inspired writings had been composed.[3] This was official, papal

[2] This "new direction" in scripture study was well described by L. Alonso Schökel, "Dove va l'esegesi cattolica?" *Civiltà cattolica* 111, No. 2645 (September 13, 1960) 449-60; in French, "Où va l'exégèse catholique?" *L'Ami du clergé* 71 (1961) 17-22. It was this article which occasioned a violent, irresponsible and unfounded attack on the Biblical Institute; see the writer's survey, "A Recent Roman Scriptural Controversy," *TS* 22 (1961) 428-44, in which an extended summary of Alonso Schökel's article can be found (pp. 428-31). See also his *El hombre de hoy ante la biblia* (Barcelona: J. Flors, 1959); to appear shortly in English translation.

[3] *Rome and the Study of Scripture* (5th ed.; St. Meinrad, Ind.: Grail, 1953), pp. 97-99; Paragraphs 35-9 (NCWC Pamphlet, pp. 18-20).—Some

sanction given to a method of critical, literary analysis which previous centuries of biblical exegesis had not known. But it was in accord with the assured results of the last two hundred years of intensive study of the Gospels. It is well to recall briefly at this point various phases through which the study of the Gospels has gone, in order to understand the position of modern Catholic exegetes with respect to them and to appreciate the background out of which the specific problem with which we are dealing has risen.

Since the time of Tatian (*ca.* A. D. 160) it was customary to harmonize the Gospels (by stringing the episodes together to make a sort of *Life of Christ*),[4] or to explain away discrepancies (by stressing the substantial agreement of the evangelists, as did Augustine in his *De consensu evangelistarum*),[5] or to construct *catenae* (i.e., biblical commentaries in which successive verses of the scriptural text were elucidated by "chains" of passages derived from previous commentators, especially the Fathers),[6] or finally to investigate their "four senses" (historical, allegorical, moral and anagogical, according to Augustine of Dacia's well-known distich, *Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia*).[7] Such exegesis of the Gospels was undoubtedly

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recent pronouncements give the impression that the study of biblical literary forms is unorthodox. These pronouncements are not in harmony with the directives of Pope Pius XII. Cf., a recent article by E. Cardinal Ruffini ("Generi letterari e ipotesi di lavoro nei recenti studi biblici," *Osservatore romano*, 24 August 1961, p. 1; Engl. tr. "Literary Genres and Working Hypotheses in Recent Biblical Studies," *AER* 145 [1961] 362-5), which brands such study as an "absurdity." To appreciate the significance of this situation, see the report of H. Fesquet ("Nouvelles querelles dans les milieux romains de la critique biblique," *Le Monde*, 1 November, 1961, p. 8), who juxtaposed the statements of Pope Pius XII and Cardinal Ruffini.

[4] This method was used not too long ago by A. J. Maas, *The Life of Jesus Christ According to the Gospel History* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1891, 12th repr., 1947). "The text is entirely framed out of the words of the gospels, in such a manner that nothing is omitted and nothing added" (p. v.). For the problems which this rather arbitrary stringing together of the various Gospel texts and the labelling of it a "Life of Christ" present in the study of the Gospels themselves, see the remarks of F. J. McCool, "The Modern Approach. . .," pp. 183-4.

[5] *CSEL* 43 (ed. F. Weihrich, 1904).

[6] See, for instance, the *Catena aurea* of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Gospels. Cf. R. Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* 1 (1928) 1084-1233.

[7] See H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture* 1/1-2 (Paris: Aubier, 1959); see also R. E. McNally, "Medieval Exegesis," *TS* 22 (1961) 445-54.

fruitful and provided the spiritual nourishment of untold generations of Christians; no one can deny this, and certain aspects of such study might well deserve renewed interest today. Yet for all its venerable tradition and spiritual value, such Gospel study remained in many ways quite extrinsic to the text itself, and surprises, even at times shocks, the modern mind, trained to a literary and historical critique of ancient writings. In general, it can safely be said that patristic, medieval, and even renaissance exegetes were not interested in a literary analysis of the Gospels which would, for instance, determine the specific purpose of Mark's Gospel over against Matthew's. A comparative study of the first three Gospels was beyond their interest. The reason for this attitude, in part at least, was the notion of inspiration which prevailed in those times, often equating it with a form of divine dictation. The interpretation of the Gospels, consequently, concentrated on them as the *verbum Dei* and, generally speaking, little or no concern was had for the hagiographer's part in the writing.

The modern study of the Gospels may be dated from the end of the eighteenth century with the emergence and correct formulation of the Synoptic problem, that *concordia discors* of matter, order and phraseology in the first three Gospels. The nineteenth century wrestled with that problem and all sorts of solutions were proposed, chief among them being the Oral Tradition theory and the classic Two Source theory. What was characteristic of this study of the Synoptic Gospels was an *intrinsic analysis* of the texts themselves in their mutual relationships in an effort to detect traces of written sources which had been used by the evangelists in their composition. It has been called Source Analysis. By the end of the nineteenth century this quest for written sources had reached an impasse; even today there is no universally satisfying solution to the Synoptic Problem. But with the end of First World War came a new type of internal criticism of the Gospels, labelled *Formgeschichte* or *Form Criticism*. This method examined the Gospel texts, in an attempt to pierce back beyond the written sources and to discover the forms of the Gospel stories which had been handed down during the generation between Christ's departure and the redaction of

the written Gospels. The chronological framework of the Gospels was called in question because of the stereotyped links used by the Synoptic evangelists; the Gospels proved to be only collections of isolated episodes artificially linked together. The classification and comparison of the *pericopae* themselves resulted in the assignment to them of a *Sitz im Leben* (or vital context) in the early Church, which would account for the rise and development of such stories about Jesus. The result of this Form Critical approach to the Gospels posed the question of the historical value of the Gospels and eventually ended in the radical skepticism of Rudolf Bultmann, for whom *der historische Jesus* could not be known, while the object of his primary concern, *der geschichtliche Christus*, was reached by faith alone.

The extreme position just described has never been accepted by Catholic exegetes, who have always emphasized the historical character of the Gospel accounts, while stressing the special type of history (salvation history) which is contained in them. But a reaction against the extreme position of Bultmann soon set in among Protestant scholars as well; it was perceived that he had pushed the method beyond its legitimate limits. The reaction took several forms, but here it will suffice to mention only a few. First of all, it was noted that, even if one grants that the order of the episodes in the Gospels is often quite arbitrary (compare Matthew and Luke) and the links are stereotyped formulae, there are nevertheless certain groupings of material which apparently belong to a primitive and fundamental *datum* of the Gospel tradition. The studies of C. H. Dodd have shown that the scraps of the primitive kerygma which are preserved in the speeches in the first part of Acts reveal a remarkable agreement with the basic order of Mark's Gospel, especially in the fourfold division of the public life of Christ: John the Baptist and the preparation for the ministry, the Galilean ministry, the journey to Jerusalem, the events of the last week in Jerusalem.[8] Such a basic framework cannot be incidental, and

[8] See C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936); "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative," *Expository Times* 43 (1932) 396-400. Also W. L. Knox, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge: University Press, 1948), p. 17; V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1953),

though it is derived from the primitive kerygma of the Church, it reflects undoubtedly the outline of the life of Christ itself. The same basic order is perceived also in the Matthaean and Lukan Gospels, but in each case it is possible to show the deliberate modification of it for the purposes of each evangelist. Moreover, no matter what theory is adopted today as a solution to the Synoptic Problem this basic structure is acknowledged. It should, therefore, be accepted at face value and its substantial historicity acknowledged. At least to this extent it is possible, therefore, to pierce back from the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche* to the *Sitz im Leben Jesu.* The historical data of the Gospels puts us at least this much in contact with *der historische Jesus.*

This may seem to leave in suspense, however, the question of the historicity of the individual episodes and even of the relative (chronological) order of the episodes within such a basic framework. The attitude of the modern Catholic exegete toward this further problem is to accept the basic historical value of the individual episodes, unless there is a *positive reason,* emerging either from the text itself or from a comparison of parallel texts in the Synoptic or Johannine traditions, which may *cause* him to modify that position. Several reasons bring him to this position. First of all, although the Gospel stories read in many cases like an historical narrative *prima facie* and are inspired accounts, it should be remembered that it has never been taught by theologians that the necessary formal effect of inspiration is historicity. The mere fact that a passage is inspired does not make it historical. Pope Pius XII emphasized, "The ancient peoples of the East, in order to express their ideas, did not always employ those forms or kinds of speech, which we use today; but rather those used by the men of their times and countries. . . . No one, who has a correct idea of biblical inspiration, will be surprised to find, even in the Sacred Writers, as in other ancient authors, certain fixed ways of expounding and narrating, certain definite idioms, especially of a kind peculiar to the Semitic tongues, so-called approximations, and certain hyperbolical modes of expression, nay, at times, even paradoxical, which help to impress the ideas more deeply on the

pp. 145-8.

mind." [9] The exegete, therefore, has the obligation of determining accurately what the inspired form (history? gospel? midrash? popular tale?) really is which is being used. Though inspiration does not necessarily make a passage historical, nevertheless it may still be so for other reasons, the nature and extent of which must be determined. Secondly, even Papias long ago was aware of the fact that the Gospel material had been adapted. This he frankly admits, even though he asserts the fidelity of Mark in recording accurately all that he could remember of Peter's preaching.[10] Thirdly, when parallel accounts of the same event are narrated in the Gospels, there are well-known discrepancies at times, which manifest a modification of the *basic story* in the course of the tradition. If the individual text of Matthew, or of Mark, or of Luke were all we had and were accepted at its face value, the question, "What really did happen?" would probably never arise. But we do have three inspired accounts of the same event which at times differ, although it must be admitted that many of these discrepancies affect merely minor details.[11] And yet, some of these very modifications which have been introduced are precisely the indications given to the exegete of the deliberate theological or religious preoccu-

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[9] *Divino afflante Spiritu*, Par. 36, 38 (NCWC Pamphlet, pp. 18-9).

[10] "And the Elder said this also: 'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered of the things said and done by the Lord, but *not however in order*.' For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him, but afterwards, as I said, Peter, who *adapted his teachings to the needs* [*of his hearers? of himself?*], but *not as though he were drawing up a connected account of the Lord's oracles*. So then Mark made no mistake in thus recording some things just as he remembered them, for he made it his one care to omit nothing that he had heard and to make no false statement therein" (quoted by Eusebius, *His. eccl.* 3.39,15; *GCS* 9/1, 290-2).—This ancient testimony, which is often so highly regarded for the authorship of the second Gospel, clearly shows that Papias did not think that Mark had composed what we would call a critical biography of Christ.

[11] The story of the cure of the blind man at Jericho offers the classic example: in Mark (10.46) the cure takes place as Jesus and his disciples leave Jericho; in Luke (18.35) as they approach Jericho; in Mark and Luke one blind man is cured, but in Matthew (20.30) two are cured. And yet there are so many agreements in the wording of the passage that it is impossible to deny that they are parallel accounts of the same incident. See A. Huck, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (9th ed., rev. by H. Lietzmann; Engl. tr. F. L. Cross; Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), pp. 150-1. Or compare Mt 3.11 with Mk 1.7; Lk 3.16; or Jn 12.3 with Mk 14.3; Mt 26.6.

pation of the compiling evangelist.[12] These modifications indicate to him that he is dealing with a religious history, with salvation history. For the Gospels are not mere records of the *ipsissima verba et facta Iesu,* but often are interpretations of them compiled in order to witness to the mystery of Christ and to bring about conversion—interpretations which are explications of what Christ implicitly said or did, interpretations derived from the fuller comprehension of Christ in the early Church's post-Easter faith (cf. John 2.22; 12.16; 14.26), interpretations which have arisen from the application of Christ's teaching to a new situation. It is not possible, however, to give a more specific answer here about individual episodes and their relative order of historicity within the basic structure already mentioned—more specific, that is, than the principle enunciated at the beginning of this paragraph. Individual cases would have to be examined.

In more recent times two other significant reactions to Form Criticism have taken place. First, just as source analysis gave way to *Formgeschichte,* so the latter has yielded to *Redaktionsgeschichte* (the analysis of the relationship of the individual Gospel-units to the whole, or the attempt to sketch the "history of the redaction" of the Gospel, to explain the theological import of the very framework in which the Synoptic material has been arranged by the evangelist). In this type of study emphasis is put, not on the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche,* nor even on the *Sitz im Leben Jesu,* but rather on the *Sitz im Evangelium,* the gospel-context of the individual episode. What part has it in the total portrait of Christ which the evangelist is drawing? It thus acknowledges that, though the framework of the Gospel account is often quite artificial, nevertheless the evangelist must have had a reason in so ordering the individual units, and an effort is made to determine that reason and to uncover his theological purpose.

As a result of this modern approach to the Gospels there are three perspectives according to which the Gospels can be studied—three legitimate points-of-view which emerge from the *intrinsic analysis* of the texts. First is the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche,* which the original Form Critics called merely *Sitz*

[12] See H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (tr. G. Buswell; New York: Harper, 1961).

im Leben and meant thereby the situation in the early Church which was responsible for the rise and development of the Gospel story (sometimes even said to be the "creation" of it). Today, modern Catholic exegetes will recognize that this perspective is legitimate, because it gives an insight into the situation which was responsible, not for the creation of the story, but for the recalling and the *preservation* of the tradition about Jesus. Secondly, there is the perspective of the *Sitz im Leben Jesu,* the historical situation in the life of Jesus himself, often most difficult to ascertain, because of the problems mentioned above. Finally, the *Sitz im Evangelium,* or the situation in the Gospel itself. The latter is the perspective of the inspired writer, for it attempts to discern what his intention was in so using the story which he records. Of the three perspectives it is obviously the last one which is the most important, because it bears the charism of inspiration to the greatest extent. And yet, it is not the one which is most occupied with the historical question.

Still another significant reaction to Form Criticism has recently made its appearance in Scandinavia, where emphasis has always been strong on the value of oral tradition in biblical studies. Birger Gerhardsson, in a recent book entitled *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity,*[13] has shown that there existed in the early Church an institution which provided for the controlled transmission of the sayings of and narratives about Jesus. Just as in contemporary Judaism the "sayings" of the Rabbis were handed down by a group of trained "repeaters" (*tanna'im*), by a process which controlled the oral tradition from teacher to pupil, so too in the early Church there seems to have been a similar institution, for evidence of it appears in the post-apostolic patristic writers, in Luke, and in Paul. The latter especially uses the

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[13] Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis 22; Lund: Gleerup, 1961. For an extended review of this important book see the writer's note, "Memory and Manuscript: The Origins and Transmission of the Gospel Tradition," *TS* 23 (Sept. 1962). —See also H. Riesenfeld, *The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings: A Study in the Limits of 'Formgeschichte'* (London: Mowbray, 1957; also appears in a slightly abridged form, but with bibliographical references in *Studia evangelica* [Texte und Untersuchungen 73; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1959], pp. 43-65; and in *The Gospels Reconsidered* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1960], pp. 131-53).

the Greek equivalents of the technical terms of the Jewish oral tradition (*paradosis*, "tradition", *paralambanein*, "to receive" [a teaching], *paradidonai*, "to hand down, transmit"—see Gal 1.13-4; 2 Thess 3.6; 1 Cor 11.2,23; 15.1-3; etc.). This controlled transmission in the early Church was part of the *didache* and was responsible for the preservation of the traditions about Jesus' words and deeds. The evidence of this well-documented study of Gerhardsson thus heightens the historical value of the individual episodes and lends support to the perspective of the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*—although it still does not eliminate the problem which we raised earlier (especially that of the discrepancies within the Synoptic and Johannine traditions). Its significance lies in the fact that it has substituted a well-documented institution of the early Church as the real *Sitz im Leben* or matrix of the Gospels for the postulated and often ill-supported ones suggested by the pioneer Form Critics. If this new development is joined to the work of C. H. Dodd about the basic framework of the Gospel tradition which is reflected in the primitive *kerygma*, then we see that the life of Christ is presented in the Gospels with a certain global historicity.[14]

To conclude our remarks on the modern Catholic interpretation of the Gospels, it will be well to cite a paragraph from Gerhardsson, which manifests a remarkable affinity with the position which many Catholic exegetes have been holding.

> It seems to be an extremely tenaciously-held misapprehension among exegetes that an early Christian author must *either* be a purposeful theologian and writer *or* a fairly reliable historian. This misapprehension is applied to the author of Acts, to the Evangelists, and to those who preceded the Evangelists in forming the various elements of the gospel tradition. The pioneer form-critics Dibelius and Bultmann have contributed materially to the perpetuation of this error. They work on a basis of an over-simplified alternative, maintaining that the men who shaped the gospel tradition had no wish to preserve memories for posterity, but *instead* wished by their proclamation to arouse faith in Christ. This is a false alternative. To present the problem in this way fails to do justice to the deep-

[14] This, I believe, is the reason why the recent *Monitum* on Scripture spoke about the *germana veritas historica et obiectiva Scripturae Sacrae*, in which the Holy Office by using *germana* made it clear that it was not espousing any fundamentalistic reading of the Gospel text, and thereby acknowledged that the evangelists, like all other writers, did not compose without employing a literary form. See further *TS* 22 (1961) 443-4.

> rooted respect for divine revelation which was felt in Antiquity (and elsewhere): to that profound reverence associated with the words which were 'heard' and the things which were 'seen,' i. e., those events which were understood and interpreted in religious categories. Nor does it do justice even to the reverence commanded by the authoritative teacher or a received authoritative tradition. The fact of the early Christian Apostles, teachers and Evangelists having presented their material with a religious end in view does not necessarily mean *per se* that their memories ceased to function, or that their respect for historical facts vanished.[15]

The words of Gerhardsson should be pondered carefully and should not be interpreted beyond what he is really saying. It would be illegitimate to conclude from them he is espousing the historical value of the Gospels in any fundamentalistic sense. But he is merely saying in other words that the Gospels are a special type of history, salvation-history or religious history.

To a generation of retreat masters trained on ideas about Scripture which are not in conformity with those expressed above some of these notions may be at first a bit difficult to understand and accept. I can assure them, however, that with a little adjustment in their outlook it will be quite easy to see the validity of the position described above and they will in time discover that the "new approach" is often far more fruitful in its spiritual value than the older one with its preoccupation with the chronological and historical aspects. This richer and more meaningful character of the "new approach" is the real reason why the modern exegete goes out in quest of it—he is not out merely for novelty. Be this as it may, however, the situation which we have been describing is certainly a major factor in the problem which is met by many retreat masters in presenting the *Spiritual Exercises* today.

II

But there is another factor which contributes to the retreat master's problem in handling the contemplations of the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks of the *Exercises*. That is the understanding of Scripture which Ignatius presupposes

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

there. In other words, the problem is not due exclusively to the modern trends in the study of the Gospels. This is an obvious factor in the problem and should be recognized frankly. For Ignatius was a child of his time and did not view the Scriptures as a modern man would. He looks on the Gospel accounts as a literal and exact reproduction of what actually took place, and does not even suspect a problem of literary dependence or redactional embellishment or transmissional modification. When faced with an obvious problem, he harmonizes the text like the rest of his generation. Take, for instance, his first point in the contemplation on the Vocation of the Apostles: "St. Peter and St. Andrew seem to have been called three times. First, to some knowledge of our Lord. This is evident from the first chapter of St. John. Secondly, to a following of Christ in some way, but with the intention of returning to the possessions they had left. St. Luke tells us this in the fifth chapter. Thirdly, to follow Christ our Lord forever, St. Matthew, chapter four, and St. Mark, chapter one" (275).[16] It is of little concern to Ignatius that his added explanations of the degrees of conversion ride roughshod over statements in the Gospels themselves, e. g., "And they brought the boats to land and left everything and followed him" (Lk 5.11). This is part of Luke's account which suggests just as much as does the Markan and Matthaean accounts the everlasting commitment of Peter and Andrew to Christ. See, further, the harmonization of the text involved in the seven words of Christ on the cross (297).

For Ignatius the text of the Gospels as it stands is what he means by "history" and the "facts." In the very beginning of the *Spiritual Exercises* he gives the instruction that the retreat-master "should narrate accurately the facts of the contemplation or meditation" *la historia de tal contemplación*

[16] The translation used is that of L. J. Puhl, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: a New Translation Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph* (Westminster: Newman, 1951). The numbers refer to the sections of this translation, which uses the marginal numbers of the Spanish-Latin text published by Marietti (Turin, 1928). —Ignatius' treatment of the vocation of Peter and Andrew is derived from Ludolph of Saxony; see H. Watrigant, *La genèse des Exercices de saint Ignace de Loyola* (Amiens: Yvert et Tellier, 1897), p. 83; L. M. Rigollot (ed.), *Ludolphus de Saxonia: Vita Jesu Christi ex evangelio et approbatis ab ecclesia catholica doctoribus sedule collecta* (Paris: V. Palmé, 1878), I, 246-7.

o meditación (2). "The reason for this is that when one in meditation takes *the solid foundation of facts* (*el fundamento verdadero de la historia*), and goes over it and reflects on it for himself, he may find something that makes them a little clearer or better understood" (2). In the explanation of the first prelude of the contemplation on the Incarnation he explains that it will 'consist in calling to mind the history of the subject I have to contemplate" (*la historia de la cosa que tengo de contemplar,* (102).[17] On at least six other occasions in the *Spiritual Exercises* Ignatius uses the word "history" in the same sense at the beginning of a contemplation. "This is the history of the mystery" (111; see also 137, 191, 201, 219). But note the significant use of the word *history* in the

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[17] Just where Ignatius got the word *historia* and what he meant by it is not easily determined. It turns up in Ludolph's *Prooemium* (#16), in a paragraph which is surprisingly headed, "Evangelistae non semper rerum gestarum ordinem servaverunt." But Ludolph thinks it better to rearrange things, *ne tamen turbari possit devotio parvulorum, locis debitis, quodam ordine alio, prout res gesta, vel dicendi congruentia exigere videbatur, in sequentibus per ordinem situantur. Non tamen affirmo quod hic sit verus, ac certus et debitus rei gestae ordo descriptus quia talis vix ab aliquo reperitur expressus. In ipso autem Evangelio, reperies Verbi incarnati historiam, mandata et promissa: in quibus habes viam, veritatem, et vitam. Christi igitur exempla nosce, quia bene vivere possis, praeceptis bene vivere scias, promissis bene vivere velis.* (ed. L. M. Rigollot, p. 10). By such an admission Ludolph shows some awareness of the problem which has become acute in modern times. Commentators on the *Spiritual Exercises* usually recall the fact that Ignatius has treated the sequence of Gospel scenes rather freely and has not even preserved that of the Gospels themselves. "Ignatius has at times changed the chronological sequence and the joining of the mysteries and made insignificant additions. Much of this is to be explained by the Saint's reading on his sickbed of the "Life of Jesus" of Ludoph of Saxony, e. g., when he presents first the adoration of the Magi, then the presentation in the Temple, and the Flight into Egypt (## 267-9), [cf. also #161 with #280, 285-88], when the sellers of doves are "kindly" treated (#277), when Christ speaks of the "beloved" disciples (#278, 281, etc.). But Ignatius also departs not infrequently even from Ludolph. Fr. von Hummelauer has best explained the reasons for such departure according to the intrinsic structure of the Exercises" (E. Raitz von Frentz, *Ignatius von Loyola: Geistliche Uebungen nach der Uebersetzung von Alfred Feder, S.J.* [12th ed.; Freiburg im B.; Herder, 1957], p. 135, n. 1). For a résumé of the way in which Ignatius uses the word *historia* see J. Calveras, *Práctica de los Ejercicios intensivos* (2nd ed.; Barcelona: Balmes, 1952), p. 205. —For another (more traditional) view of the "solid foundation of facts" see A. López de Santa Anna, "El uso de la historia y arqueologia bíblicas en las meditaciones de los Ejercicios, según la mente de San Ignacio," *Manresa* 1 (1925) 107-17. "De esto se sigue la imperiosa necesidad de conocer los detalles bíblicos y arqueológicos para que la imaginación trabaje con provecho sobre fundamento verdadero y no sobre ficciones ridículas o al menos gratuitas" (p. 110).

first prelude of the meditation on the "Three Classes of Men": "This is the history of the Three Classes of Men" (150). Then he proceeds to present an imaginative, parable-like case-history. It is obvious that the function of the first prelude is to give a short summary or résumé of the subject, on which the "mental representation" (*composición viendo el lugar*) of the second prelude is to be based. It is at the first prelude of the exercise that Ignatius intended the retreat master to "narrate accurately the facts of the contemplation or meditation," "the solid foundation of facts." What he means by this is not what we would call the objective, historical facts of the *event,* as an historian might present them, but rather the "scriptural facts," the facts of the scene as they are narrated by the sacred writer. It would be a mistake to think that he is using the word in our modern, technical sense; but equally a mistake to think that he means anything less than what the Scriptures recount. Ignatius is obviously thinking of *salvation-history,* those events of the past which took place "in the fulness of time" and which are recorded for our edification and spiritual profit in the Gospels.

Ignatius had not the slightest concern about the historicity of an episode—whether it could be established with satisfaction or not. Like Ludolph of Saxony he was interested in other aspects of the episode. This is brought out by the way he handles the first prelude of the Kingdom of Christ: "This is a mental representation of the place. Here it will be *to see in imagination* the synagogues, villages, and towns where Jesus preached" (91). His emphasis is above all on the retreatant's activity, on his picturing to himself what Christ did or said, in order to make it present to himself. It is true that Ignatius is not asking us to picture Christ merely walking down the pages of the New Testament, but that he wants us to picture the historical Jesus actually walking down the roads of Palestine. This is beyond doubt, but even here the the emphasis is on the *mental and imaginative activity* of the retreatant. This accounts for the freedom which he takes with the sacred text itself; in the contemplation on the Nativity he explains, "This is the history of the mystery. Here it will be that our Lady, being about nine months with child, set out from Nazareth, as may be piously believed, seated on

an ass, and accompanied by Joseph and a maid, leading an ox. They are going to Bethlehem to pay the tribute that Caesar imposed on those lands" (111). The biblical "history" says nothing about a maid, an ass, or an ox. But who can say that Ignatius is wrong in asking the retreatant to feed his soul on such a consideration? Or again he instructs the retreatant to see with his imagination "the way from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Consider its length, its breadth; whether level or through valleys and over hills. Observe also the place or cave where Christ is born; whether big or little; whether high or low; and how it is arranged" (112). Surely he does not expect the retreatant to engage in much research to find out the length and breadth of the road, etc. By his imagination he is to make it all present to himself.[18] "For it is not much

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[18] This approach to the Scriptures Ignatius has inherited at least from Ludolph of Saxony, if not from other spiritual writers of his time. In the *Prooemium* (#11) of his *Vita Jesu Christi* Ludolph proposed his "Methodus quo meditanda est vita Christi." It reads as follows: "Vidisti ergo ad quem excelsum gradum meditationes vitae Christi perducunt: nunc in ipsas meditationes te aliqualiter introducere tentabo, non omnia quae in Evangelio scripta sunt pertractando, sed quaedam devotiora ex his eligendo. Nec credas quod omnia, quae Christum dixisse vel fecisse meditari possumus, scripta sunt, sed ad majorem impressionem ea tibi sic narrabo prout contigerunt, vel contigisse pie credi possunt, secundum quasdam imaginativas repraesentationes, quae animus diversimode percipit. Nam circa divinam Scripturam meditari, intelligere, et exponere, multifarie possumus, prout credimus expedire, dummodo non sit contra fidem, vel bonos mores. Quicumque vero asserit de Deo aliquid quod non est tibi certum, vel per naturalem rationem, vel per synderesim, vel per fidem, vel per sacram Scripturam, praesumit et peccat. Cum ergo me narrantem invenies: Ita dixit vel fecit Dominus Jesus, seu alii qui introducuntur; si id per Scripturam probari non possit, non aliter accipias quam devota meditatio exigit, hoc est, perinde accipe ac si dicerem: Meditor quod ita dixerit vel fecerit bonus Jesus; et sic de similibus. Tu autem, si ex his fructum sumere cupis, toto mentis affectu, diligenter, delectabiliter, et morose, omnibus aliis curis et sollicitudinibus tunc omissis, ita praesentem te exhibeas his quae per Dominum Jesum dicta vel facta sunt, et ex his quae narrantur, ac si tuis auribus audires, et oculis videres, quia suavissima sunt ex desiderio cogitanti, et multo magis gustanti. Et ideo quamvis multa ex his tamquam in praeterito facta narrantur, tu tamen omnia tamquam in praesenti fierent, mediteris: quia ex hoc majorem sine dubio suavitatem gustabis. Lege ergo quae facta sunt, tamquam fiant; pone ante oculos gesta praeterita tamquam praesentia, et sic magis sapida senties et jucunda" (ed. L. M. Rigollot, p. 7). —This method of contemplation can be traced back to Bonaventure at least. "Haec et his similia de Puero Iesu meditari potes, dedi tibi occasionem. Tu vero, sicut videbitur extendas et prosequaris, sisque parvula cum parvulo Iesu, nec parvipendas talia humilia et quae puerilia videntur, meditari in ipso. Videntur enim haec dare devotionem, augere amorem, accendere fervorem, inducere compassionem" (*Meditationes vitae Christi*, c. 12 [ed. Vives, 12. 509-630]).

knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but the intimate understanding and relish of the truth" (2). Finally, recall his apology for including the first apparition to Mary, "Though this is not mentioned explicitly in the Scripture, it must be considered as stated, when Scripture says that He appeared to many others. For Scripture supposes that we have understanding, as it is written, 'Are you also without understanding?' [Mt 15.16]" (299).[19] The result of such reflections is the realization that when Ignatius speaks of the "facts" or the "history" of the mystery, he means the "scriptural facts," the facts as narrated by the sacred writer.[20]

Another aspect of the issue can be seen in the fact that Ignatius calls these Gospel scenes of the life of Christ "mysteries." The selection of certain episodes of the life of Christ for meditation has often been traced to the period of Ignatius' convalescence.[21] It is likely then that he derived this term from the spiritual books which he was reading. By the word "mystery" he may have understood nothing more than an

[19] That this is not an entirely personal idea of Ignatius is seen from the remark of Suarez: "Absque ulla dubitatione credendum est Christum post resurrectionem primum omnium Matri suae apparuisse" (*In S. Thomae*, q. 55, disp. 49, s. 1, n. 2; ed. Vives, 17. 544). But even so conservative an exegete as U. Holzmeister recognized that it was at best a pious tradition; see "Num Christus post resurrectionem benedictae Matri apparuerit," *Verbum Domini* 22 (1942) 97-102.

[20] To appreciate somewhat what the medieval historian was interested in, and what underlies Ignatius' notions of "history", one should consult the book of one of the great modern Bollandists, H. Delehaye, S.J., *The Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* (tr. V. M. Crawford; London: Longmans, Green, 1907), especially pp. 64-66, or in the new translation of the 4th ed., 1955 by D. Attwater (New York: Fordham, 1962), pp. 50-55.

[21] *Autobiography* #11: "He took great delight in the books he was reading, and the thought came to him to select some short but important passages from the Life of Christ and the Lives of the Saints. And so he began to write very carefully in a book, as he had already begun to move a little about the house. The words of Christ he wrote in red ink and those of our Lady in blue, on polished and lined paper in a good hand, for he was an excellent penman. Part of his time he spent in writing, part in prayer" (W. J. Young, *St. Ignatius' Own Story, As Told to Luis González de Cámara* [Chicago: Regnery, 1956], p. 11. Cf. H. Holstein, "Contemplation of the Mysteries of Christ," *Finding God in All Things: Essays in Ignatian Spirituality Selected from* CHRISTUS (*tr.* W. J. Young; Chicago: Regnery, 1958), pp. 90-103. Also H. Pinard de la Boullaye, *Les étapes de rédaction des Exercices de S. Ignace* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1945), p. 22, who maintains that the section on the "Mysteries of the Life of Our Lord" (##261-312) was probably not composed before his stay in Paris 1528-35. Similarly H. Bacht, "Der heutige Stand der Forschung über die Entstehung des Exerzitienbuches des hl. Ignatius von Loyola," *Geist und Leben* 29 (1956) 327-8, especially p. 333.

incident in the life of our Lord, suited for commemoration or imitation or as having some spiritual significance for Christians.[22] The use of it is probably akin to the "mysteries" of the Rosary. Whether the medieval mystery plays influenced the use of the word in the *Exercises* or not is not matter for discussion here, but the rendering of the scene present to the mind of the exercitant has undoubtedly some affinity with them. But, at any rate, the re-presentation of the Gospel scene is what is stressed, whereby the retreatant will contemplate "the states of His Sacred Humanity," to use the phrase of a modern author.[23]

There is one further element in the *Spiritual Exercises* which must be considered. Throughout the Second Week Ignatius instructs the retreatant to pray in the third prelude "for an intimate knowledge of our Lord, who has become man for me, that I may love Him more and follow Him more closely" (104). Ignatius makes much of the imitation of Christ (see 109, 135, 139, 168, 175, 248,). Indeed, the climax of the Three Kinds of Humility is precisely that "I desire and choose poverty with Christ poor, rather than riches, in order to imitate and be in reality more like Christ our Lord" (167). This imitation is often based on the example of Christ in the Gospel scene being contemplated, but on one occasion it is even based on how the retreatant imagines Christ would conduct Himself at table: "Whilst one is eating, let him imagine he sees Christ our Lord and His disciples at table, and consider how He eats and drinks, how He looks, how He speaks, and then strive to imitate Him" (214). Once again, there is an obviously rich and fruitful consideration in the notion of

[22] The meaning of this word for Ignatius is singularly without comment in most of the standard commentaries on the *Exercises*. H. Holstein (*op. cit.*) thinks that Ignatius may have been influenced in his selection of "mysteries" by the illustrated Lives of Christ which were current. It is, furthermore, impossible to exclude the medieval meaning of *mystery* which is a synonym for the sense of Scripture "secundum allegoriam." H. de Lubac (*op. cit.*, I/2, 397) explains: "The mystical sense is the sense which refers to mystery, which is a reality, hidden at first in God, then revealed to men at the same time that it is realized in Christ. It is then the sense which contains the fulness of doctrine: "iuxta mysticum intellectum haec omnia referuntur ad Christum' . . . A search was made in the sacred Books for 'mysticos legalium umbrarum intellectus,' i. e., they looked everywhere in them for the 'truth' of these shadows, that Truth which is Christ Himself."

[23] C. Marmion, *Christ in His Mysteries* (4th ed.; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1939), p. 24.

the imitation of Christ. No one can deny that it is founded on New Testament data (Jn 13.15; 1 Pet 2.21; Phil 2.5; Col 3.13; 1 Jn 2.6; 1 Cor 11.1). But the problem arises from the fact that many of the events of Christ's public life are not presented by the evangelists for imitation. This is the reason why at times the retreatant senses a certain superficiality in the presentation, if, for instance, the Nativity is to be contemplated merely for the purpose of imitating Christ's poverty, or the life at Nazareth for His obedience. The modern perspective of *Redaktionsgeschichte* would rather analyse the incident in order to appreciate the reason why the story is used in the evangelist's total portrait of Christ; it tries to reckon with the final summary comment in the episode which the evangelist so frequently adds. It may be that the element of imitation is part of this perspective, but frequently it is not. John Bligh, S.J., has well stated the situation with regard to the Gospels:

> Did Christ during his daily life regard it as his task to set an example which should be remembered and imitated? Did he endeavour to give the moral teaching of the Sermon on the Mount concrete embodiment in a series of incidents which his followers could remember and imitate? If he did, at all events these paradigm incidents have not been remembered; the four gospels do not narrate them. . . . The evidence of the gospels is that Christ regarded himself as setting a pattern not of each particular precept of his New Law but of the essentials, namely perfect obedience to his heavenly Father, willing acceptance of humiliation, and voluntary self-sacrifice for the sake of others. He set this example chiefly by taking up his Cross and dying on it. He is a living law only in this sense, that he is a living embodiment of the Law of Charity, which is his 'way:' 'I am the Way' (Jn 14.6). If Christ's purpose during the Public Life was not to set an example of all the moral virtues required of his followers but rather to teach his hearers what the content of obedience was *for them*, still less is the purpose of the gospel accounts of the Public Life to set forth Christ's daily life as a model for our imitation. The criteria by which St. Mark selected the incidents to be incorporated in his account of the Public Life are very mysterious; but there is little to be said for the view that his choice was controlled by the aim of setting forth Christ as a model for imitation . . . the greater part of the Synoptic and Johannine traditions are not concerned with Christ as a model for imitation, but Christ as lawgiver, prophet, rabbi, revealer, and worker of miracles.[24]

[24] " 'Liturgical Mysticism'," *Heythrop Journal* 2 (1961) 333-44, esp.

If this is the case, then another area of conflict may seem to arise between the modern Scriptural approach and the *Exercises*.

We come finally to what is really the basic aspect of the problem. Even granting that Ignatius is a child of his time and reads the Gospels like a fundamentalist renaissance man and puts great emphasis on the imitation of Christ (in accord with the contemporary "Devotio moderna"), his handling of Scripture is completely *subordinated to the purpose of the Exercises*. His goal is ascetical; the Exercises have "as their purpose the conquest of self and the regulation of one's life" (21). To this end Ignatius subordinates all the Scripture which he uses, almost totally neglecting the Old Testament and ordering all that he uses of the New Testament to prepare the retreatant's soul for the key meditations. As Ignatius first conceived of and used the *Exercises*, they were calculated to produce a tremendous psychological conversion in the retreatant, an "election." This was certainly his original conception and to such a psychological goal he picked and chose those "mysteries" of the life of Christ which would be best suited for the transit from the Kingdom of Christ to the Two Standards, Three Classes of Men, Three Kinds of Humility and the Election. In the course of the time the custom grew up of repeating the *Exercises*, whence has come the practice of the annual retreat today. Adaptation of the *Exercises* in such retreats has been a subject often discussed: How much has to be retained in order that the Ignatian *Exercises* be given? No one makes an election every year; with the shift of emphasis here in the repeated retreats greater stress was in time put on the imitation of Christ in details and the contemplations of the life of Christ were used more for this purpose. They were often used as occasions for moralizing exhortations and the question of the imitation of Christ received even greater stress. To accomplish this even more stress seemed to be needed for the historicity of the details of the scene. Now the modern biblical movement has made Catholics aware of the neglected riches in the inspired Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament. Recent Gospel study has shifted the emphasis from the historical and chronological to the

341-2.

kerygmatic and theological reading of the evangelists' compilations. It seems to call once again for an adaptation of the Ignatian method—and once again the problem of the fidelity to the method of Ignatius is going to come up. Must I accept the perspective of Ignatius in the treatment of the contemplations on the life of Christ and subordinate the treatment of the Gospels to it? Or can some compromise be worked out? It seems that the latter is desirable, because the retreat master will have to respect the sensibilities of retreatants, and in time more and more of them will be aware of the "new approach."

The foregoing remarks should have indicated the various aspects of the two factors which contribute to the modern problem which faces the retreat-master. Part of it springs from the "new approach" in Gospel study, part of it from certain Ignatian presuppositions. However, it is not a problem which is completely insoluble. In the following section we shall try to offer some suggestions for a solution.

Some Suggestions for a Solution

If we recall the three perspectives according to which the Gospels can be studied, viz., the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche*, the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*, and the *Sitz im Evangelium*, it is the last named which suggests itself as the one most suited for the purposes of the retreat-master. In fact, though there is a problem here, it is precisely this one among the three which best corresponds to the Ignatian view of the Gospels and what we have termed his "scriptural facts." Only rarely will the *Sitz im Leben der Kirche* be of interest to the retreat master. His interest will naturally incline him toward the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*, because he would like to be sure that it really happened just so, and this perspective would seem to furnish him with the material needed to be able to "see in imagination the synagogues, villages and towns where Jesus preached" (91). But this is a complicated perspective, hard to use, and dependent on Synoptic and Form Critical comparisons. If the retreat master happens upon a well-worked out explanation of this viewpoint for some scene or other, he can of course use it. But in the long run this perspective is somewhat removed from the purpose which Ignatius has in mind. Is it not

immaterial to the retreat master whether it can be established with certainty that the event took place just as it happens to be described in the Matthaean or Lukan Gospel? After all, the scene was recorded as such under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for a very definite purpose—for the education of the people of God, for the edification of the Church, and for our spiritual instruction and nourishment. Suppose it does turn out that a certain scene as presented by the Matthaean Gospel has been embellished in the light of the early Church's Easter faith, or that it can be shown that Luke has deliberately modified his account of an incident to adapt it to his theological point of view, nevertheless such embellishments and modifications are inspired. They may have to be discounted in a consideration of the episodes from the standpoint of the second perspective, but as they stand they are part of the story of Jesus intended by God for the edification of His church. That is why the third perspective, which tries to account for the use of precisely such details as contributing factors in the whole portrait of Christ, should be preferred by the preacher and the retreat master. For it copes with the Matthaean, Markan, Lukan, and Johannine formulation and tries to perceive the pertinence of the episode to the entire message of the evangelist. Now this aspect of modern Gospel study can easily be adopted by the retreat masters; it fits easily into the directives of Ignatius that the "solid foundation of facts" should be exposed—the solid foundation of "scriptural facts."

In view of this I would suggest that in an eight day retreat, in which a number of episodes of the life of Christ are to be used, they be taken entirely from one Gospel. Since Mark and John lack an Infancy Narrative, the choice would preferably be either Matthew or Luke; and because of the contemplation on the Incarnation Luke's account would probably be more suitable. However, after that initial meditation in the Second Week, which has, as a matter of fact, its own distinctive Ignatian cast, the Matthaean Gospel could probably be used just as well. But in adopting the scenes from Luke, or Matthew, one would do well to adopt also the outlook, the theological approach, and the portrait of Christ of that evangelist. These can be found in many introductory

books which explain the purpose of the Gospels.[25] This solution would serve also to unify the contemplations much more than they normally are in a retreat. Ignatius is concerned that the retreatant acquire a thorough knowledge of the Christ, whose cause he is to espouse, and it is difficult to think of a better way of doing this than to follow and use as much as possible of the inspired portrait of one of the evangelists.

Of course, the Markan and Johannine Gospels can also be used; the riches of the latter are always a mine for the retreat master. But the use of these would call for greater adaptation. But what should be avoided, it is suggested, is the pick-and-choose presentation of the "mysteries" derived from the different evangelists. For this might betray most quickly to the retreatants who may be aware of modern scriptural developments that the retreat master is not quite *au courant* —should he really be concerned about this? If this technique is used, then it will also provide possibilities for variety, should the retreat master have to give a second or even third retreat to the same group. On one occasion, Luke's portrait could be presented, on another Matthew's and so on.

A number of the episodes of the life of Christ are prescribed by Ignatius and are always looked for in a Jesuit retreat. But the choice of the others is left to the discretion of the retreat master. Why should they not be so chosen from the Gospel being used to build up the portrait of Christ according to the conception of that evangelist? If they are, then the problem is apparently eliminated which is caused by an extrinsic norm such as, "What scene will suit best the consideration of this or that virtue?"

What we are suggesting here is a slight adaptation of the *Exercises* in view of the modern development in Gospel study. If one feels that this is too much of a departure from the Ignatian method, and that it is necessary to pick and choose Gospel scenes arbitrarily to produce the effect intended by Ignatius, then there is little reason for the retreat master to worry

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[25] For example, the introduction to *La sainte Bible* (*de Jérusalem*), published by the Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem (Paris: Cerf). In this connection the recent book of H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (tr. G. Buswell; New York: Harper, 1961), might be used. The reader is warned, however, that it is not easy to read; see *TS* 22 (1961) 663-5. But it does highlight the Lukan theological perspective.

about the modern Scripture movement. For Ignatius' perspective will not really agree with any of the perspectives of the Evangelists, and is quite distinct from the modern preoccupation of *Redaktionsgeschichte*. The retreat master then can be as free and untrammeled as Ignatius in accommodating Scriptures to his ascetical goal. If however, he has become aware of the neglected riches of the Scriptures now uncovered by the modern approach, then he can adopt a perspective graced with the charism of inspiration and adapt his presentation of the contemplations on the life of Christ to this perspective. For it seems to us that the adoption of the perspective, say of Luke or of John, will not change the Ignatian *Exercises* that much. After all their fudamental drive is found in the key-meditations and the contemplations on the life of Christ are in reality psychological padding, destined to prepare the retreatant for the renovation of his life (which in the normal annual retreat will find it expression much more in the deepened appreciation of "finding God in all things" of the Contemplation to Attain the Love of God), or to fortify him in a decision made in a retreat of election. But in any case a careful scrutiny of one Gospel or another for scenes which will at once preserve the evangelist's perspective and stress the element of conversion to Christ would seem to be the idea—and would seem to be at most a slight modification of the Ignatian method.

As for the question of the imitation of Christ mentioned above, it should be made clear that we are not counselling the avoidance of such a theme in a retreat. There are undoubtedly Gospel scenes which lend themselves to it; but the difficulty lies in the fact that many of the more important scenes for the evangelist's portrait of Christ lack precisely this element of imitation. The theme of imitation can be revitalized by presenting those aspects of Christ's *life as a whole* which are particularly apt for imitation (see the remarks of J. Bligh above). Of all the Gospels it is again that according to Luke which is most suited to the aspect of imitation. Apropos of the Lukan Passion Narrative in particular, X. Léon-Dufour, S.J., has pointed out that Luke's presentation of the Passion is that of a drama in which the reader is invited to participate,

to engage himself like Simon of Cyrene, carrying his cross "behind Jesus."

> The reader is invited, no longer to make a simple act of faith in God who fulfills the Scriptures and in Jesus the Son of God made manifest in His death. Unlike Mark, Luke explains, as does Matthew, the mystery which he unfolds. The reader is no longer especially invited to adore the person of Jesus who presents Himself as the Son of God, the all powerful Lord (Matthew), but to recognize his own weakness with Peter and his malice with all those who have condemned Jesus, to adore the infinite mercy of Jesus, so human and so kind, and to participate especially in His patience. . . . Jesus is not simply a model, He is the type of the persecuted Upright One, resuming in His person the persecution of all times and revealing by His triumph the victory of His followers.[26]

Another comment on the imitation-theme may be permitted at this point. Ignatius instructs the retreatant often to reflect upon the matter being contemplated to draw fruit from it: "I will reflect upon this to draw profit from what I see" (106; see also 107, 108, 114, 115, 116, 122, 123, 124). In many retreats such reflection is motivated chiefly by the quest for something to imitate; the viewpoint adopted is that of exemplary causality. But (at the risk of introducing Aristotelian expressions into such a discussion as this) why could not the reflection adopt the other types of causality: material, efficient or final? Such considerations would enrich the presentation, and the last one, finality, would certainly agree with the perspective of *Redaktionsgeschichte.*

Further, though that imitation of Christ means obviously the more or less direct copying of the way in which Jesus behaved in certain situations (cf. 1 Pet 2.21; 2 Cor 10.1), there is more to the notion of the imitation of Christ than this simple reference to human example. Recall Paul's reference to it in 2 Cor 8.9 "You know how gracious the Lord Jesus was. Though he was rich, he became poor for your sake, in order that by his poverty you might become rich." As C. H. Dodd has pointed out, "Clearly he does not mean that Jesus was a rich man who gave up his wealth and adopted a life of poverty, like (let us say) Francis of Assisi. No doubt He had a moderately prosperous carpenter's business at Nazareth and sacrified it for a career which sometimes left Him

[26] *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* 6. 1476.

with nowhere to lay His head; but that could not fittingly be described as being rich and then becoming poor. No, Paul is alluding to the belief of the church that Christ had at His disposal the power and riches of another world, and that He chose the lot of a man, and a poor man at that, in order that He might share those riches of another world with His fellowmen."[27] Cf. Phil 2.5–8. The "hard core of historical fact" here is that Jesus was crucified and went to His death in complete obedience to the will of God, like a servant whose only thought is to do what the master wants done. But Paul sees in this act of Jesus the concrete expression in history of a divine act of self-giving beyond space and time, revealing the character of God Himself. He recommends to Christians the imitation of this divine self-giving; they should become as like God as possible, not by self-deification, but by walking "in love as Christ loved you" (Eph 5.2). "It is in respect of the love which Christ showed to man that the character and action of God are to be copied."[28] This is the aspect of love which should dominate all human activity.—But such a consideration, so briefly indicated here, means that the retreat-master must pierce beyond the mere analysis of a Gospel scene from the standpoint of exemplary causality to the other standpoints mentioned above.

When it comes to the handling of certain specific contemplations the retreat master may still feel that what has been offered as a solution above has not really come to grips with the individual problems which worry him. Perhaps a few examples may help in this regard; they are drawn mainly from questions which have been proposed to the writer from time to time; extensive illustration is impossible. But if, for instance, the retreat master feels uneasy in suggesting that the retreatant represent to himself the Blessed Mother reciting the *Magnificat*, he can simply phrase it thus: "Picture to yourselves the Blessed Mother uttering the canticle which St. Luke puts on her lips." This much is certainly based on

[27] *Gospel and Law: The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia, 1951), p. 40. Our paragraph is largely inspired by Dodd's treatment of imitation. Perhaps also of use will be E. J. Tinsley, *The Imitation of God in Christ: An Essay on the Biblical Basis of Christian Spirituality* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960); see the review by J .Bligh cited in note 22.

[28] C. H. Dodd, *Gospel and Law*, p. 42.

the "solid foundation of facts"—the inspired Lukan facts (even though the historian might hesitate to assert that the stylized Greek formulation of the hymn is precisely what the Aramaic-speaking Mother of Jesus uttered on that occasion). The important thing to remember here is that it is the Lukan Greek formulation which has come down to us as the inspired text, intended by God for our instruction and spiritual profit. But then let the retreat master make sure that he includes in his explanation of the canticle the part that it plays in the Lukan Gospel and in the Lukan portrait of Christ (which can be found in any competent commentary). This is not an introduction of extraneous matter into the Ignatian retreat, for in the long run it will give a more reliable picture of the Christ with whom the retreatant is expected to become enchanted and captivated during the course of the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks. The end-result of the incorporation of such elements into the retreat from the modern approach to the Gospels can only be one of added spiritual and intellectual stimulus and nourishment.

Again, if the modern retreat master feels uneasy about the Magi and their star, he is not obliged to begin the contemplation by stating, "Now there may have been no Magi, but we will meditate on them anyway." Simply because individual, fallible exegetes cannot supply the retreat master with convincing reasons to assure him that the Magi *de facto* did adore the Infant Christ (Who can assure him of this, *seclusa declaratione auctoritativa magisterii ecclesiastici infallibilis?*), he should not omit the meditation from the retreat. He should present it as one of the five episodes of the Matthaean Infancy Narrative, whose purpose is to extol the greatness of the Child now born, the scion of David, the Anointed One of Israel. It is true, of course, that the scene is described with elements which appear to the modern mind as nothing more than folkloric details: astrologers following a new star on the horizon, whose vagaries across the heaven tax the imagination; their arrival with the exotic gifts of the East; their mysterious disappearance to their own land; the consternation of "all Jerusalem" at their arrival and story. Let us suppose for a moment, *dato non concesso,* that there is nothing more here than folklore. Why should not such elements be exploited for

what they are intended to do: announce the birth of one of the "greats" of this world's history? Here is a child who is born, whose greatnes is heralded by a "new star," similar to that said to have arisen at the birth of Abraham in Jewish legends. He is a child whom learned men from among the Gentiles were said to have come a long distance to adore. Who is this child? Why is He great? Matthew has already intimated the answer by his genealogy in ch. 1: He is the scion of David, the *Christ*—the One for whom all Israel has been waiting. Born of the line of Abraham, a Jew of the Jews, He is heralded among the Gentiles as one of the "greats" of history. All of this, of course, would serve the ulterior purpose of Matthew who implies the contrasting reception of Jesus among His own people. Even pagans acknowledge the greatness of this Anointed One of God, who is made manifest to them by an astrologer's star. Matthew would have recorded as part of his Infancy Narrative a popular tale, which for some reason Divine Providence has seen fit to endow with the charism of inspiration for our edification and spiritual profit (but has not thereby necessarily made out of it a piece of historical writing). By this story Matthew is introducing into his "Little Pentateuch," which is the Infancy Narrative, the theme of the rejection of the suffering Messiah by the people of Israel. The Magi, the Flight to Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, all strike the chords of this basic motif. The Jews are represented by Herod and his consultants, who are thrown into consternation at the arrival of pagan astrologers seeking the King of the Jews. Whether the historicity of the scene can be established or not, it has a place in the Matthaean Gospel and therefore a place in Christian piety and instruction.[29]

Again, the retreat master should remember that he is not an exegete as such. If Pius XII made it the duty of the exegete to "discern and define clearly that sense of the biblical words which is called literal . . . , so that the mind of the author may

[29] See S. Munoz Iglesias, "El género literario del Evangelio de la Infancia en San Mateo," *Estudios Bíblicos* 17 (1958) 243-73; J. Racette, "L'évangile de l'enfance selon saint Matthieu," *Sciences ecclésiastiques* 9 (1957) 77-85; M. M. Bourke, "The Literary Genus of Matthew 1-2," *CBQ* 22 (1960) 160-75; J. E. Bruns, "The Magi Episode in Matthew 2," *CBQ* 23 (1961) 51-54; A. M. Denis, "L'adoration des Mages vue par S. Matthieu," *NRT* 92 (1960) 32-39.

be made abundantly clear,"[30] he also stressed that the exegete was to set forth the theology of the individual books or texts so that their exposition might aid priests in their presentation of Christian doctrine to the people and help all the faithful to lead a life that is holy and worthy of a Christian. The exegete's study of Scripture is a restricted one, whereas the preacher or the retreat-master uses Scripture in a far wider scope. There are other uses of Scripture which are certainly legitimate—the homiletic use, the liturgical use, and even the medieval allegorical (theological) use. For the most part these are accommodated senses of Scripture,[31] and can scarcely be graced with the name of an *inspired* sense, one intended by God as the author of Scripture. However, such accommodations of Scripture have a long history in the patristic, conciliar, and theological traditions of the Church, not to mention the homiletic and liturgical traditions, where their use has been abundantly fruitful. Is not this the sort of thing to which Ignatius refers when he apologizes for the first apparition: "For Scripture supposes that we have understanding, as it is written, 'Are you also without understanding?' [Mt 15.16]" (299) ?[32] Who can deny that it is part of the divine economy of salvation to use not only the *inspired* sense (= the literal sense), but also such accommodated senses? But in so using Scripture, the retreat master is not *per se* an exegete.

Finally, it should be emphasized again that Scripture is

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[30] *Divino afflante Spiritu*, Par. 23 (NCWC Pamphlet, p. 14). The whole section here on the "Interpretation of Sacred Books" and the relation between the literal and the spiritual sense of Scripture would deserve restudy in the light of what we have written above.

[31] The medieval *allegorical* sense and perhaps even the *liturgical* sense might seem to some to be instances of the *sensus plenior* of Scripture. Many modern theologians debate whether or not there is such a sense in Scripture; certainly the *magisterium* of the Church has not yet come out in favor of it. Its existence is denied by many. Cf. R. E. Brown, *The Sensus Plenior of Sacred Scripture* (Baltimore: St. Mary's, 1955); Benoit, P., "La plénitude de sens des Livres Saints," *RB* 67 (1960) 161-96; synopsized in *Theology Digest* 9 (1961) 3-8. But cf. also the letters of M. M. Bourke and J. L. McKenzie on the subject; *ibid.*, pp. 66, 126.

[32] In this connection recall the words of Ludolph of Saxony cited above in note 17 ("Non tamen . . . velis") and in note 18 ("Nam circa divinam . . . mores"). —By the same token, it may seem that one could legitimately extend the principle of the imitation of Christ even beyond the perspective of the evangelist. True, no one can say that it is wrong to do this, but it seems that here above all the modern retreat-master has to be careful. Let him not present it as if it were the intention of Scripture itself, for this would be the worst possible type of *eisegesis*.

subordinated to the goal of the *Exercises* in a retreat. The retreat master is not merely expounding a text, but he is *using* scriptural texts to an ascetical end. But he must, nevertheless, be careful. Today, modern retreatants, especially those who may have some training in modern scriptural developments (like seminarians on the theological level, certain groups of Sisters or Brothers, not to mention young priests), may be rather sensitive, if a very fundamentalistic interpretation of certain Scriptural passages is used with them. Their sensibilities have to be respected, as the retreat master well knows. Hence, even though he is not asked to be an exegete, it is nevertheless desirable that his *use* of Scripture be somewhat in line with modern exegetical principles.

But even in this regard it may be that we are talking about what is—or could be—a false problem. Just as there are poor retreat masters, who fail to comprehend the psychological build-up of the *Exercises* and never achieve in their retreats the purpose envisaged by Ignatius, so too there are retreatants who are captivated by the novelty of the modern Scriptural approach and are perhaps too inclined to criticize even the good retreat master for his lack of modernity. If we have recommended above an adaptation of the *Exercises* in view of the modern scriptural developments, it is obvious that such a recommendation should aim at striking a balance or the happy medium. Consequently, it is well to reflect on the different purposes of the exegete and the retreat master and not exaggerate the problem itself. Ignatius' use of Scripture and his purpose is one thing, that of the exegete in the modern scriptural movement is another. A judicious adaptation is what is needed.

Father John W. Tynan

John J. Morrison, S.J.

On a cold night in March 1960, the phone in the Minister's room at Saint Peter's College, Jersey City, rang at 4:00 A.M. The call was from Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York City and the nun's voice at the other end softly announced that an extraordinary Jesuit had just passed in review before his beloved Leader, Christ. Father John W. Tynan, S.J., died on March 22, 1960 at 3:50 A.M. He was 64 years old. Bombardier in World War I, chaplain in World War II, professor of physics, dean of men, rector of a happy, devoted and energetic community—his was a full and effective life. His former community, now scattered across three Provinces, aging somewhat and therefore slow to use superlatives, speak of his rectorship as "our best years."

In 1947, the centennial year of Saint Francis Xavier in New York City, speaking before a group of three hundred prominent graduates, Father Tynan humbly said, "We are here to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Saint Francis Xavier. He was a giant. Loyola was a giant. We, their followers, try to imitate them. But we feel like pygmies. Oh, we have our little successes. However, we experience many failures. Yet, please be assured that we are trying hard to imitate those two giants. Be patient with us. Our sights are set at the same targets. Please pray that our marksmanship may equal theirs." Father Tynan did not experience many failures and he enjoyed many little successes. He was dean of men at Saint Peter's College when he died. The senior class, 1960, dedicated their year book to him. Their dedication reads in part:

> He has balanced a deep reverence for the ideals he seeks to foster in us with a kind and priestly sympathy for our pain in growing into these ideals. His guiding hand has been firm and gentle, his direction wise and sure, his correction an education in responsibility, his life an incarnation of the goal held out for our attainment.

John and his twin sister Mary were born October 21, 1895 to William John and Ellen McCormick Tynan in Jersey City.

They had an older brother Tom and three younger sisters, Veronica, Helen and Catherine. Jimmy Murray, father of the Honorable James Murray, Commissioner of Jersey City, regarded John's talents so highly that he paid a special visit to Mr. and Mrs. Tynan to persuade them to enroll him at Saint Peter's. The result was that John attended Saint Peter's Prep from 1909 to 1913 and Saint Peter's College from 1913 to 1917.

World War I

The United States entered World War I when John was a senior at College. The only day he was absent from college classes was the day he enlisted in the army. Upon graduation, he was sent to Fort Myers, Virginia, and on December 15, 1917 to Kelly Army Air Force Base in Texas as an air cadet. Though he did not qualify as a pilot, he earned a rating as a bombardier. The war ended, however, before he was sent to Europe and he was honorably discharged December 12, 1918. When he returned home, he went to work at Port Newark for the Adams Express Agency. This he knew would be a brief interlude for he had applied for the Jesuit Order. He went to Saint Andrew-on-Hudson for his noviceship September 14, 1919, with a bachelor of arts degree and as an army veteran.

Parenthetically we note here that when World War II broke and the ivy halls of Rose Hill were fast becoming a ghost town, Father Tynan was restive to be with the troops. He gave up his rank as colonel in the Guard to serve as a first lieutenant in the active army. It is significant that in his final days at Fordham, his friends of every class spontaneously arranged for send-offs. Twenty-five doctors assembled at The Lido to bid farewell. The Kingsbridge armory staged a dress parade, and, most touching of all, the Fordham students walked *en masse* with him all the way down the elm-lined road of the campus to the Third Avenue gate.

Throughout Father Tynan's life people referred to two characteristics, greatness and virility. His physical stature, his very posture marked him as a military man even when he wore civilian clothes. On his twenty-fourth birthday at Saint Andrew's he recalled that he spent his previous birth-

day in Louisiana fighting mosquitoes and cleaning airplanes. His fellow novices encouraged him to talk about his army experiences. As he wrote, "They haven't allowed me to stop talking army yet."

Father Tynan's father was a strict man. He checked on his children's homework every night. He was also a man of singular piety as we may judge from the following excerpt from a letter he sent his son soon after the long retreat and not long before his death:

> I always had admiration for that man who kept his heart so pure that the all-seeing eye of God found no dust in it. I often ask myself, "How did he do it?" So when you were born I said, "There is his model." You can easily understand now what I mean when I say you gave me one of the greatest joys of my life when you told me you had joined the Jesuits. I never mentioned a vocation to you because I believe the Almighty reserves calling men to the priesthood to Himself. Years before the Holy Hour was begun in Saint Bridget's, I used to have one of my own on Saturday nights. I never could meditate, so I prayed and hoped and begged and cried, yes, and sometimes I fell asleep, all in one hour. You were often the subject of my thoughts. I said many a time to our blessed Lord, "I'll waive the pleasure of ever seeing his back at the altar as a priest, only call him! For Kalamazoo or Hong Kong or Jersey City."

John Tynan spent two years studying philosophy at Weston. His third year was made at Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington. He received his M.A. from Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington in 1923. The first year of regency (1925-1926) was spent at Fordham Prep. Occasionally he would be invited to his sister's for dinner. His brother-in-law demurred, "Whenever we invite your brother to dinner, do we have to invite *all* the Jesuits from Fordham?" From 1926 to 1929 John taught physics at Fordham University and helped operate Fordham's seismological station. It was during this time that he wrote articles on seismology. It is reported, also, that he contributed articles to science fiction magazines.

Theology

During his theology at Woodstock College, 1929-1933, he organized a group of twelve classmates to put together a set of source material notes on the Spiritual Exercises. Admittedly, it was an amateurish compilation, but from the extant copies, it is obvious that the range of reading was wide

and the copiousness prompted the remark that it had more address material than the Manhattan phone book. After tertianship at Saint Andrew, Father Tynan was assigned for three years as associate professor of physics at Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia.

In 1936 Fordham University entered into one of its most colorful eras. Scholastic standards soared and the groundwork for the University's present eminence was carefully laid. In that wonderful era, the Fordham Ram proudly trotted before thousands of football spectators. Rose Hill was one of the recognized powerhouses of the athletic world. Into this highly charged atmosphere stepped the man made for the occasion. Father Tynan became dean of men and athletic moderator. The effectiveness of his Fordham days was summed up by Father Cronin, Professor of Philosophy, "It is hard to pick out one thing. He did everything well. You took that big leaguer for granted." Father Tynan had an instinct for anticipating trouble. One boarder at an open window had carefully measured off the distance to a professor coming across the lawn, and just before he tossed a bag of water at his target, Father Tynan stepped beside him. "He just looked at me," the boarder later explained. "Didn't say a word. I was so scared of that man I didn't even feel the icy water going down my pants." A graduate recalls, "Black Jack gave us our lumps, and from him we loved it."

As dean of men, he suffered when he had to impose penalties. Inclined to soften the punishment, he had to wrestle with his conscience. He was literally sick after dismissing one student from the college. Eight years later, after the war, the same student came back. He told a faculty member, "I came back for one reason,—to say that Father Tynan was right. That's how much I admire him." On one occasion, a student caught off base was summoned to the dean's office. Father Tynan, waiting for no explanation, coldly said, "Go home." The student asked for a chance to explain. "Go home," Father Tynan repeated. The student dejectedly packed and proceeded to depart. Father Tynan quickly called Father Farley. "Tack," he said, "don't let that boy go home. Just get his story. I have to act so it will get around campus. But it's just an act."

Leo Paquin, All-East end, 1937, and about 6 feet, 6 inches, admitted that when Father Tynan looked at him, his blood ran cold. When Coach Jim Crowley gave a guided tour of the campus to his freshman team, he would assemble them outside of Father Tynan's office and remark, "Inside there is the one place a smart footballer never sees."

As those colorful years succeeded each other, the name of Tynan was almost as well-known as the word Fordham. It began to take on a legendary stature. Culprits emerging from his office were congratulated if they could speak without stuttering. The years only deepened the admiration in which he was held. George Babich, former basketball star at Fordham, visited the college about the time the basketball scandals were breaking elsewhere. One athletic official was expressing relief that Fordham's name was not involved. George quietly broke in, "I am not at all surprised that Fordham was not involved. The groundwork for that was laid years ago. Father Tynan used to bring us athletes into his office and show us how much Fordham was spending on our education. After he explained everything to me, he closed by saying, 'George, please never cut Fordham's throat.' And as I looked back into that sincere and virile face of his, I knew I could never voluntarily hurt Fordham." Father Ed Berry, professor of mathematics at Fordham, recalls that all the athletes had deep respect for Father Tynan and felt miserable when they were in his disfavor. Vincent Lombardi, coach of the world champion Green Bay Packers and one of Father Tynan's seven blocks of granite of pre-war football, shrugged his shoulders and summed it up, "What a priest, what a man!" Father Tynan's charm saved many an awkward situation in the sectional bowl games. At the Cotton Bowl ceremonies in Dallas, Texas, before the Texas Christian game, he donned a ten-gallon hat and happily exclaimed, "Don't worry, folks, I'm not here to convert you. We're here to play football."

World War II

Toward 1940, war was a definite possibility. Fordham students graduated with no immediate plans. The draft was about to begin. Father Tynan could not see the students he loved go off without him. He became Chaplain of the 8th

Infantry Regiment at Kingsbridge Road. He considered this to be a special apostolate since he felt he could reach men in uniform more easily if he wore a uniform himself. His charming manner made him a hit with officers and men alike who looked on him as their special friend and spiritual advisor. Thousands referred to him as a man's man and probably no greater compliment than that could come from a soldier. After a short time, he led the whole regiment to a military Mass. Through the streets they paraded, Father Tynan at the head, the Colonel, in deference, taking second spot, right into Fordham University Church.

As soon as he completed Chaplain's school at Harvard, Father Tynan was sent to the European Theatre of operations as Chaplain of the 115th Station Hospital and 235th Ordnance Battalion. From the records he kept while in the Army, we can judge his tremendous capacity for work while his rations were shared with civilian families who continued to express their gratitude till the day he died. This man's man was the soldiers' priest every inch of the way, keeping the morale and spirit of the men at the highest level. His commanding officer refused to allow him to be transferred because he knew that the mental and emotional state of individuals and of his organization were in competent hands. Father Tynan had a flair for the military and was a natural leader. Above all he set the example and provided a standard for all to emulate. He was decisive, unselfish, loyal, had an excellent sense of humor, and a good memory for recounting witty anecdotes.

"Throughout the war," he wrote, "the Catholic priest was given a deference and respect, even by non-Catholics, that was often denied their own chaplains. And all the world, even the enemies of the Church and those who refused even to admit the existence of God, acknowledged that a priest is not like other men. Protestant chaplains themselves were often generous enough to admit that the priest had influence they could not command. And why did the priest stand out even in the judgment of men who knew not the Christ? Because the priest *is* different. The sacrament of Holy Orders has made him different. Christ made him different. He has the grace and character of a priest."

His sermons to soldiers were brief and pointed. "We should think very little of a soldier," he pointed out, "who had to be ordered to love his country. We should evaluate that kind of love as a barren and unproductive emotion, incapable of generating acts of courage or heroism or even basic loyalty." The motto of the American Rangers is, "Follow Me," and around it he wrote a sermon: "If you will follow Me, take up your cross and follow Me—along the road of the commandments, the sacraments, the road of prayer and penance. Follow Me in keeping your mind and heart clean and pure. Follow Me in keeping your tongue unsullied by bad language for My Name's Sake; Follow Me in justice to your neighbor; in kindness and charity and humility; in refraining from murmuring and complaining." General William Crofton, a Protestant, told the writer he never met a more effective chaplain in his long military career. Even when Father Tynan could no longer speak, and General Crofton was an amputee, he frequently visited with Father Tynan because he revered him as a priest and a man. There were other general officers: William P. Cavanaugh, Martin Meany, Martin Forey, Walter S. Stanton, William Cox, and William Ottman who were also close personal friends. When he was released from active duty after the war as a Major, Father Tynan was given the following awards: The World War I Victory Medal, The American Campaign Medal, the World War II Victory Medal, The European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, and the Meritorious Unit Emblem.

About this time, in a letter to his twin sister, Mary, when her son, John Tynan Kelly, upon graduating from Fordham, chose to enter the Trappist Order, Father Tynan wrote, "I know what a vocation is, and what it is to try to get rid of one, and how miserable one is when he refuses to follow it. You remember how the thought of being a Jesuit plagued me and how I fought it off by postponing the inevitable. You also knew that I went to Saint Andrew hoping they would not keep me. You know too that I was not there long before I was afraid they would not, and I have completed twenty-five years of a happy life that I would do all over again if I had the chance."

On January 30, 1946, Father Tynan, fresh out of the army,

was appointed rector of Xavier, the Jesuit military school in Manhattan, and pastor of the parish Church. Whether or not his military background was a factor, we shall never know, but the choice was popular with the Xavier community. The spontaneous acclaim, when the official appointment was read, was unique. His own comment on the appointment was that a Jesuit should never refuse an assignment even though it is difficult. One member of his energetic community said midway through Father Tynan's stay at Xavier, "I've been goaded by others, but Black Jack got more mileage out of me than any other rector." At the same time, Father Tynan was confiding to a Jesuit friend from another house, "I wish these fellows would slow down and let me catch up with them." So the years at 16th Street sped by, packed with activities inspired by the rector who led without seeming to lead, who ran a house without dictatorial overtones, which he blandly stated he wanted "busier than Madison Square Garden." If the Jesuits at Xavier during this period felt somewhat like ushers at the Garden, it was not because they spent much time at 50th Street and 8th Avenue. They were all too happily engrossed at 16th and 6th. Truthfully, there was never a dull moment at 16th Street for the next six years. Members of the community spoke of being on the Xavier team.

In his first exhortation, February 24, 1947, Father Tynan said, "Unity is a virtue without which a community is like a group of rival merchants. The unity of this household is so manifest that it is spoken of by visitors. For this grace, we humbly thank its Author—our Father in heaven. Unity demands selflessness and generosity, and will neither long endure nor be productive of good unless informed by charity which is love for one another in Christ, our Brother. Let us pray that Saint John the Apostle, whose recurrent theme was love, may obtain for us the perpetuation of the Christlike fraternity that informs our house, that we may continue to see Christ in each other to the glory of His Name." He might have added that unity is not achieved without a leader.

So deft was his leadership that the unity seemed a finished thing from the beginning. Jesuit guests at Christmas time asked for rooms at Xavier because, as one of them said, "It's

like coming home." Public relations flowed smoothly in a house where the rector, with uncommon perspicacity, considered the switchboard operators the first and most important link with the public. Was there a fire in the parish? There was. Three tenements burned down, mercifully without loss of life. But Father Tynan and his community took over even as though they had set it. For three days the *New York Times* featured stories about how the Xavier Community sheltered homeless families in the gym, obtained groceries, looked for future lodging and advanced that indispensable item—money.

The Rector

Father Tynan, in giving general orders to a minister, said, "Keep this plant open around the clock." While the minister was mulling over the idea, the rector, perhaps proving his point, founded a still flourishing chapter of the Nocturnal Adoration Society. Nearby Stuyvesant Town led him to build fourteen new rooms on the top of a ninety-eight-year-old building. This housing development was named Tynantown over the protests of the rector. Signs asking for volunteers were usually filled the day they were posted, with the rector's name at the top or the bottom. Prayer and work were the watchwords of his regime. "The hardest and most valuable work of the day is" he stated, "the morning meditation. Religious life without meditation is a contradiction. The fruit of formal prayer is to keep our spirituality replenished so that all may thereby be supplied, and to insure our own growth in grace and wisdom. A follower of Christ the King is a worker, who strives by prayer to keep his motives pure. The quality of our work as well as the quantity, should be a cause of concern to us. To offer to God a work defective because of lack of effort or carelessness, is unbecoming, to say the least. The *greater* glory of God will not be served by slipshod work. Every bit of our work should bear the mark of careful planning and execution."

At the end of his first year as rector, Father Tynan could say, "We have many holy men under our roof. They would be surprised to learn they are so considered. We are all striving sincerely towards the goal our vocation wants us to

achieve. Let us not be complacent. There is no such word as enough in the lexicon of the sons of Ignatius. Today's success, happiness and unity are no series of fortuitous accidents. They are the fruit of hard work. They will increase and multiply if we continue to work as Xavier and the other First Fathers did. If we do, we, too, shall become glorious gems in the crown of Holy Mother Church."

Father Tynan's devotion to the Blessed Virgin was outstanding. He made every effort to promote the devotion to the rosary. He himself said it many times every day. At one period of his life, he seemed always to have the rosary in his hands. When somebody remarked about this, he used to pass it off by saying, "It takes only seven minutes to say it." He caused a shrine of Our Lady of Fatima to be erected in the church and once a year had a procession around the boundaries of the parish, the statue of Our Blessed Mother mounted on a float towed by a jeep with a searchlight playing on the statue. The people of the parish followed behind reciting the rosary and singing hymns. The Fatima procession was a community effort. The idea was a result of Father Tynan's lifelong devotion to Mary. The execution involved everybody in the house. The parish priests organized the parishioners: old and young, from the Married Ladies Sodality and Holy Name Society down to the Cub Scouts. The jeep, belonging to the National Guard, towed the float, owned by the Fire Department, while the streets were aswarm with plain clothes men. Their uniformed brethren were mounted on horses, guard of honor to Our Lady. At the head of this devout procession of 3,500 marched Father Tynan and the entire community reciting the rosary led by a voice in a sound truck. And all this took place on the fringe of Greenwich Village, deep in lower Manhattan. While the rosary mounted up to Heaven, an antiaircraft searchlight startled people as far away as Jersey City across the Hudson. One Father Provincial wrote, "Father Tynan was the best liked and admired rector in the province, generous, unselfish, easy of approach, encouraging, fatherly."

1947 was the centennial year of Xavier. The celebrations were worthy of its glorious history and of its glorious alumni including two archbishops, four bishops, scores of right

reverend and very reverend monsignori, and hundreds of priests and laymen prominent in every walk of life. Memorable were the pontifical masses of thanksgiving for the glorious hundred years. Father Gannon's sermon was broadcast over a national hookup. The Apostolic Delegate, Most Reverend Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, now Cardinal Secretary of State to Pope John XXIII, came. Father Michael Clark and Father Charles Connor preached memorable sermons. The military review was attended by the military, civic and ecclesiastical leaders of the decade. The centennial dinner in the grand ballroom of the Astor was filled beyond capacity. The first annual military ball was a grand success. The Father's Club, which has contributed so greatly to Xavier over the years, was inaugurated that year. These things did not just happen. They were the result of careful planning and execution by Father Tynan and his Jesuit staff.

As pastor of the Church, Father Tynan was particularly devoted to his flock because the responsibility of the *cura animarum* concerned him deeply. He remarked once that he felt Jesuits did not make good parish priests, "because we do not have the vocation to be parish priests." This was not the opinion of the parishioners.

Father Tynan redecorated church and parish school. He arranged better recreational facilities for the children of the parish. He attended nearly every devotion in the church. After every Sunday Mass, he was outside to greet the parishioners. His office was at the entrance of the rectory and he took as many of the calls at the rectory as the priest on duty. Because of its location, many asked for alms at the rectory. Father Tynan never turned one of them away. When someone pointed out that he was an easy mark for panhandlers, he said he would rather be fooled ninety-nine times out of a hundred then let one of Christ's poor go away without help.

In 1948, Father Tynan began the year with an exhortation: "As we look forward to another year of life and work in this least Society, we are conscious of a desire to make the coming year better than the last. How can I do a better job this year so that its end will find a maximum number of souls influenced in the greatest possible way by my efforts? And

how be sure that the end of the year will find me, who have sworn to seek perfection, really advanced along its way? Each tomorrow must contain the elements of the answer: day by day fulfillment of the day's work to the best of our ability. It behooves us to heed those countless impulses of the Holy Spirit that overcome the inertia of the flesh and produce the momentum that results in utter flight towards God. Constancy is placed high in the category of self-improvement devices. To be doing at all times the holy will of God is the heroic goal that alone will satisfy one who is really crucified to the world. Are there such among us? I believe there are, and not a few. Else how could so many blessings come our way. Am I deceived when I thank our Heavenly Father that He has given me the happiness to live with brethren wholly devoted to Him? No, the Spirit of God is with us and in us and about us. We are as good and we are as effective as we are imitators of Christ. To count all things as dross save the love of Christ; to be able to say 'I live; now not I but Christ liveth in me.' This is my prayer for you and myself as we go into this new year."

When the Mayor of New York resigned to take a diplomatic post in Mexico, Vincent Impellitieri was president of the City Council and a parishioner of St. Francis Xavier parish. The Democratic Party did not choose Mr. Impellitieri as its regular candidate, so he chose to run as an independent. Father Tynan selected Mr. Impellitieri to receive the annual military review at the armory. Since the invitation to Mr. Impellitieri was tendered before the election took place, one of the community asked Father Tynan, "What if Impellitieri loses the election?" To which Father Tynan answered, "I am not inviting Vincent to take the review because of his candidacy, but because he is an outstanding Catholic gentleman whom Xavier is proud to honor."

The *New York Daily News* ran a headline for the Inaugural of Mayor Impellitieri:

One Invited—Fifty Thousand Attend!

The one invited was Father Tynan and the front page picture showed Father Tynan administering the oath of office to the Mayor.

Another highlight of his regime at Xavier was the occasion when Very Reverend Father General cabled Father Tynan to meet the plane carrying the arm of Saint Francis Xavier to New York. A Portuguese Archbishop was accompanying the celebrated relic to Japan to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Xavier's arrival there. The Xavier cadets formed a Military Guard of Honor and a large detail of police came to escort the relic to 16th Street. When his Excellency handed over his precious cargo to Father Tynan he removed the relic from the case to allow the employees at LaGuardia, the guard of honor and the police to venerate it. It was a sight to see the throng of people gathering at the airport to pay homage to Xavier, and by the time the cavalcade had returned to 16th Street, such a throng of faithful had gathered in the church that it seemed a modern Xavier miracle. No announcement had been made of its coming. For the next three days the church was filled to capacity all day long with people who wanted to venerate the relic. *Life* magazine came down to do a picture story on it.

When the precious relic of Saint Francis Xavier's arm was returned to the States, it had a triumphal tour in most of the large cities of the country, and, when Father Arthur McGratty brought it back to New York, Very Reverend Father General deputed Father Tynan to return it to Rome. The trip, which began on December 8, 1949, was a memorable one. He visited Ireland, England, France, Switzerland, Portugal, Belgium and Italy. On his arrival at midnight in Rome, he was met at the airport by Very Reverend Father General. During his stay in The Eternal City he had an audience with Pope Pius XII and a fifty minute interview with Very Reverend Father General. He returned to New York on January 10, 1950.

It was soon after his return from Rome that his throat condition began to cause alarm. He could speak only in whispers and the members of the Community began to think of him as a sick man. Because of the rigors of winter, Father Provincial sent him to Florida. This seemed to work wonders for when he returned his voice appeared to be normal. Characteristically, the following Sunday he preached at *all*

the Masses. But his voice was never the same again. His preaching days were numbered.

Father Michael Costello succeeded Father Tynan as Rector of Xavier in January of 1952. Father Tynan spent the next year at Fordham University as director of the alumni and then six months as procurator of Canisius College. He came to his alma mater, Saint Peter's College, in June 1953 where he remained until his death seven years later.

The virility of Father Tynan's character shows forth most clearly during those last twelve years of suffering. Some souls are made stronger by adversity, and such was his. Father Tynan had always been considered a strong character but the high quality of his willingness to suffer for Christ became more and more evident. In 1948 while he was rector of Saint Francis Xavier, he had his gall bladder and appendix removed. While he was in the army in 1917, he had been treated for a thyroid condition. Later in 1939, a swelling on the left side of his neck was diagnosed as of thyroid origin. In 1948 a special medication produced violent reactions. In October 1949 his thyroid disorder manifested itself in an aggravated manner. In 1950, his vocal cords were scraped and a polyp was removed. At Saint Peter's College Father Tynan had to submit to radical surgery. As a result, he would never talk normally again. Nerves and muscles all were cut so that sensation, touch, taste and smell were temporarily destroyed. His passion had begun. To his devoted sister Veronica he wrote: "Pray that the chalice may pass, or that I may have the courage to drain it." It was not the physical pain alone, although that was all too real. More trying, perhaps, was the fact that Father Tynan, once president of the debating society, a tireless preacher, a great conversationalist could not preach and only occasionally could be understood.

Trying

He never stopped trying. Twice a week he made the long trek up to Columbia's Teachers College trying to learn to speak viscerally. He was an apt pupil and fought any feeling of discouragement lest it affect the other members of his class. Always, however, he carried about his pad and pencil so as not to embarrass those who could not understand. Frequently

he would simply hand you a piece of paper with a pleasantry written thereon. During this period he continued to be a very effective dean of men and did extensive writing as an apostolate. In the evenings he customarily walked on Hudson Boulevard in front of the college, and seemed to know everybody in Jersey City. Everybody looked on him as a friend. Each evening as a service to the community he went out, no matter what the weather, to get the morning papers. He enjoyed the recreation room because he said he always felt better at night and enjoyed the companionship of the community.

Celebrating Mass during his last years taxed his strength considerably because he always wanted to observe every rubric perfectly. Usually he was completely exhausted after it. Nor did he ever omit any of his other spiritual duties, though he might easily have been excused. During Litanies he stood on the threshhold of the chapel lest he have a coughing spasm which might annoy others.

In April 1959 Father Tynan began to experience severe pains in his chest. Tests showed several lobes of the lung affected. There had been a metastasis of the carcinoma to the lungs. When informed of the malignancy, Father Tynan said, "I am sixty-three years old. Even if I were a well man, how long more could I be expected to live?" The pain was excruciating until October 1959 when there was a temporary improvement; but after the new year, the ravages of the disease reached a terminal stage. It is typical of the man that he never stopped working until five days before he died. He entered Saint Vincent's Hospital on Friday, March 18th and the end came the following Tuesday morning at 3:50 as he slept.

The great concourse of people who came to Saint Peter's Hall to pay their last respects to Father Tynan and the crowd that filled the cathedral-sized church of Saint Aedan when his friend, Bishop James A. McNulty, D.D., celebrated a pontifical requiem Mass attest to the innumerable friends he made during his lifetime. Bishop Stanton, Auxiliary of Newark, and Right Reverend Msgr. Hughes, Vicar General of the Diocese, led the hundred Monsignori, priests, and Jesuits, who attended the funeral. Bishop McNulty accompanied the body to Saint Andrew-on-Hudson for interment where Father

James J. Shanahan, now Provincial of the Buffalo Province and Father Tynan's last superior, read the obsequies.

No better epitaph could have been written than this excerpt from Father General's letter to Father Shanahan, dated July 1959: *Pater Tynan, fortis athleta in apostolatu Christi, miles Ignatianus.*

Father Santo J. Catalano

Anthony J. Paone, S.J.

On the fourth of October, 1960 the office of Reverend Father Provincial of the New York Province sent out the usual postcard notifying the members of four Jesuit provinces that Father Santo J. Catalano had died piously in the Lord at St. Andrew-on-Hudson. This brief notice marked the end of a long and varied career, a career that began before the original Province of Maryland-New York had been divided into its present four provinces of Maryland, New York, New England, and Buffalo.

Santo Catalano got his first real taste of Jesuit training when he entered St. Francis Xavier High School in 1903. Every morning he made the trip to Manhattan from Brooklyn, where his family had settled after they arrived in this country. Santo had been born at Baucina, Palermo, Sicily on April 16, 1889. If his later years were any indication, we may assume that he studied zealously to gain and maintain good grades in his high school studies. Even during his days as a young priest at Nativity Parish, those who remember him, say that he impressed them by his scholarly approach to the questions and problems which arose. Nor did he lose his taste for knowledge in his latter years as teacher and Spiritual Father at Brooklyn Prep, and as parish priest in St. Ignatius Parish. Those who visited him in his room at Brooklyn frequently beheld his desk covered by three or four open books in which he was seeking the information to solve some moral case or prepare some novena, conference, or sermon.

On September, 21, 1908, young Santo Catalano entered the novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson. As a straw indicates the direction of the wind, so did many little habits of his later life show the lasting effect of his noviceship training. His fidelity to the daily visit, meditation, examen, his regularity in reciting his office and his interest in spiritual books during his many years at Brooklyn Prep and St. Ignatius Parish, Brooklyn, were the visible straws indicating the lifelong direction of his spirit. As Spiritual Father, he was able to recommend a variety of spiritual authors to those who consulted him. His conferences gave proof of extensive reading and intense immediate preparation, in spite of his many years in the ministry. Judging from the large array of spiritual notes which he had gathered and arranged in some fifty or sixty loose-leaf books, he seems to have been dissatisfied with a mere rereading of old conferences and exhortations. In the numberless items he culled from magazines, newspapers, and a host of authors, we see how his mind was constantly on the lookout for useful illustrations, anecdotes, events, and ideas that might give freshness and power to his sermons, talks, novenas, and retreats.

The Great Experiment

After three years of philosophical studies and allied subjects at Woodstock College, Santo Catalano ventured forth in 1915 into the Society's great experiment of the regency. In those days the regency lasted for five years. The first four of these years were spent at Gonzaga High School in Washington, D. C. For one year he taught Latin, Greek, and English Grammar in First Year High, and was then assigned to teach the same subjects in Second Year. In 1919 he was sent to teach Mathematics and French at Boston College High School. We need no record of his success as a regent. The fact that he would spend twenty-one years of his Jesuit life in the classroom is proof enough that superiors considered him a capable teacher.

After tertianship, Father Catalano would return to teach for a year at Garrett Park. Then after eleven years in parish work at Nativity Parish, he would re-enter the classroom for three years at Gonzaga and twelve years at Brooklyn Prep.

As an old teacher, Father Catalano was a source of wonderment to many a young man on the faculty. He carried a full teaching load along with the others. He was painstaking in giving prelections; patient in correcting the repeated mistakes of the slower students; prompt in marking his quizzes and tests; and ever ready with some joke or anecdote to lighten the mood of his classes. Many a time he was given a group of boys who had discouraged former teachers with their unwillingness or inability to apply themselves; and to the surprise of not a few, he got them through both the midyear tests and final examinations. When the status relieved him permanently of his teaching assignment, he took it somewhat hard, but with a good deal of resignation.

Parish Assignment

Three status changes assigned Father Catalano to parish duties. His first steady parish assignment came in the summer of 1926, when he was appointed assistant in the Jesuit Parish of the Nativity at Second Avenue and Second Street in Manhattan. It was there that he pronounced the four solemn vows of the Society on February 2, 1927. Old parishioners of Nativity Parish recall how formal he was as a young priest. He found it difficult to see eye to eye with his local superior, Father Dominic Cirigliano, whose easygoing informality seemed to militate against the orderly discipline which Father Santo tried to instill into the young people. Nevertheless, the parishioners understood and appreciated both the informality of the one and formality of the other.

Father Catalano's sermons to the parishioners and his instructions to the young showed his usual painstaking labor. All who knew him were quite enlightened by his message and impressed by his earnest delivery. His work with religious brought a deeper knowledge and inspiration to many who heard his conferences or made his retreats. Years after he had left Nativity, he was still being requested for annual retreats and tridua by the religious communities who had heard him before.

In 1933 Father Catalano was appointed superior of Nativity. For the next four years, he went about his added duties with his usual zest and zeal. Then, as though superiors had recalled

his former talents in the classroom, he was sent back to teach in the halls where he had spent his first years of regency. After three years at Gonzaga, he was transferred to Brooklyn Prep. For the next twelve years he applied his talents to the students in the school by day and to a number of parishes and religious communities in his spare time.

Brooklyn Parish

Finally in 1952, he was once again assigned to a Jesuit parish, that of St. Ignatius in Brooklyn. Without much ado, he disposed of his school books and took up his duties as an assistant parish priest in the same community. Parishioners of St. Ignatius parish showed their appreciation by their frequent recourse to him in their needs. With the mellowed understanding gained through the years, he gave his heart and tireless help to all who came to him. His Married Women's Sodality flourished and worked devotedly in raising money for the missions. Through their weekly card party, they sent thousands of dollars to the Jesuit Seminary and Mission Bureau, and also helped pay for the bus transportation of the St. Ignatius children who attended Nativity School. Just before he was struck by the lingering illness which was to terminate his earthly life, the Mission Bureau asked him to name some useful article they could give him as a sign of appreciation for his outstanding help to the missions. Father Catalano could think of nothing but a new typewriter to carry on his work of correspondence and his composition of the conferences and talks to which he was still devoting the same earnest care that had characterized his younger years.

Last Years

In the year 1953 he was made spiritual father of the Brookly community. For the next five years, he made himself available to his fellow Jesuits, without diminishing any of his parish activities. At the age of 70, his strong constitution, which had been given no special favors through the years, began to falter. After an examination, the house doctor concluded that Father Catalano must have strained himself. The doctor's prescription, however, did not give the expected relief. A further examination revealed that the patient had

suffered a stroke. Never having been familiar with illness, Father Catalano became unsure of himself, and confined himself more and more to his room. He failed noticeably in the following weeks. Since he needed more care than could be offered at Brooklyn, he was sent to Shrub Oak. For a while he became somewhat despondent in the infirmary, but then began to feel better. He was heartened when he found that, with a little help, he could offer Mass again and even attend the regular meals in the refectory. The ordeal of illness and inactivity, however, gradually became too much for this old soldier of Christ. He slowly began to fade away. He was finally removed to the infirmary at St. Andrew-on-Hudson. There he died on October 4, 1960.

Change and Permanency

Henri J. Wiesel, S.J.

> The grain of wheat must fall into the ground and die, or else it remains nothing more than a grain of wheat. But if it dies, it yields rich fruit. John: 12, 24.

I go back this afternoon—and I ask you to come with me—I go back all the way to the year 1662 when the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, having paid the enormous price of 40,000 pounds of tobacco to William Bretton, acquired by that transaction 750 acres of his land upon which they then established a Catholic center—a Catholic church, a rectory, a Catholic school and a Catholic burial ground. Quite naturally these were dedicated at first to St. Ignatius Loyola, but at a later date were rededicated to St. Francis Xavier. This Catholic center still stands upon the same land though greatly reduced in size and vastly shrunken in importance.

There at Newtown were planted some of the very first grains of wheat in the fertile soil of St. Mary's County of

Sermon delivered on the occasion of the dedication of a new church of St. Aloysius at Leonardtown, Maryland, on March 18, 1962. Archbishop Patrick J. O'Boyle of Washington, D. C., dedicated the Church. Very Reverend John M. Daley, Provincial of Maryland, offered the Mass.

Maryland's infant colony. This was but thirty-two years after the arrival of the early settlers in 1634. That fertile soil had been waiting, waiting hungrily and thirstily, for these wheat grains which took root at once and flourished with each succeeding year. "The grain of wheat must fall into the earth and die, or else it remains nothing more than a grain of wheat. But if it dies,then it yields rich fruit."

This is not the hour nor the proper occasion to tell the story of that old historic spot, interesting though it be. But it is the time to relate the fact that from that old Newtown rectory, still standing and still occupied, there came a long procession of priests to serve the spiritual needs of the Catholic settlers who even then were immigrating up from the lower section of St. Mary's county and were already establishing themselves, building their homes and manor houses, ploughing their plantations in and around Bretton Bay. Thus by this immigration came into being the more or less well-defined settlement of Leonardtown.

In open defiance of the then unjustly established laws forbidding public Catholic worship, the Holy Sacrifice was offered in many a manor house and home until the dawning of better days. In 1776 or thereabouts a distinct movement was initiated by the priests and people of this general vicinity to have a church building or chapel of their own. By this time the stringent laws against Catholics, although still in effect and still on the statute books, were not as strictly enforced as in the earlier years of the seventeenth century.

So came the happy day when from the fields of Francis Xavier at Newtown very carefully and with extreme caution was transplanted some of the growing wheat, with the result that a small modest chapel of wooden construction was built in what is now referred to as the Old Cemetery of Leonardtown. Its foundation timbers were laid on land donated by Ann Thompson.

This transplantation from Newton, this shifted wheat took root at once, good, deep root, firm, fine root under the fatherly care of one James Walton, S.J. He it was who nourished it carefully, watered it generously, guarded it safely and guided it correctly. Were we to mention every

sacerdotal laborer whose good fortune it was to tend this flock, the day would have run far into the night.

Three Generations

Nearly three full generations of Maryland Catholics worshiped in that first little church. The time came, however, when their aspirations for something better and more commodious began to demand attention. The old records tell me that on June 29, 1846 one Vincent Camalier, architect, began the erection of a new and grand St. Aloysius Church upon a site donated for that very purpose by James Blackiston and his wife, Ann. September 1 of that same year saw the blessing and laying of the corner stone, 116 years ago. The total cost of the new church was $3,555.50.

Again the wheat had been transplanted. It profited vastly by its new location, by the new and fresher soil, the warmer sunlight and the gentle breezes blowing up from the river and the bay. It grew rapidly. It prospered well. Year after year it gave abundant, rich harvests as is attested by the yellowed books of record. Turn rapidly the pages of 116 years. Pass over quietly many, many events in the life history of St. Aloysius church and parish. Over the names of pastors and priests, over the names of families, parishioners, of children and teachers you must glance rapidly. But as you turn the pages of the past note well the hundreds of marriages, the thousands of baptisms, the long, long list of the departed souls. Make no attempt to count the times the Holy Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Our Savior has been offered, nor the distributions of the Bread of Life. Make no record of the absolutions, the blessings, the graces of God Almighty day after day, year after year.

Full four generations of Catholic Marylanders have worshiped in that old church whose crumbling ruins you will see as you look to the south of this site. In that old sacred house of God they found solace in their sorrows, light in their doubts, solutions of their problems and strength in their daily conflicts with the spirit of the world, the flesh and the powers of Satan. To that old sacred shrine now passing came Baltimore's illustrious Cardinal and Archbishops, Gibbons and Eccleston and Kendrick, Spaulding and Bayley and Curley.

FATHER JOHN W. TYNAN

And be sure not to pass over unmentioned three other good friends, Curtis and Corrigan and McNamara. These came in their appointed rounds to enlist your ancestors in the army of Christ, to encourage them, to strengthen them and to help them on their way to God and to eternity.

How wonderfully interesting would it be today if the present day modern methods of recording the spoken word had existed in the infancy of this historic parish. Imagine our emotional enthusiasm today if home-movies had been invented in 1662. We would see our ancestors of days long forgotten driving along the dusty county roads as they must have done that September morning when with fitting ecclesiastical pomp and ceremony the corner stone was bedded down in soft mortar. We would see others, many others trudging through the pathways on their way to Mass or Sunday school or the devotions of Vespers and Benediction. We would see recorded for all time the expression of happiness as the steeple of that church came into view.

Proud Witnesses

This afternoon we are the proud witnesses of still a third transplantation of the wheat brought over from England to the Maryland Mission by Andrew White, John Altham-Gravenor and Thomas Gervase. How well it has fulfilled the words Christ used to describe it: "Believe me what I tell you this: the grain of wheat must fall into the ground and die, or else it remains nothing more than a grain of wheat; but if it dies, then it yields rich fruit." Ancient, old, beloved, that structure to the south of us has heard the words of Christ and has begun to die. In its turn it prepares to die in order that more abundant life might be the result. It had from Christ no promise of permanency, but only death and decay. It carried no insurance from the ravages of time. Bravely through the years, the 116 years, it has withstood the winter's snows and the summer's heats. And now it prepares to die, for it knows that in dying it is bequeathing to us and to those who are to follow us in the years ahead rich fruit and abundant harvest. It searched for a site whereon it might reestablish itself, it looked for fields to welcome the new and younger wheat. To the everlasting honor of the Sisters of

Charity of Nazareth let us here take note that the land upon which we are now gathered is the gift, the generous gift of these devoted Sisters. Mere words will never repay their goodness to the parish of St. Aloysius at Leonardtown. They seek no reward in this life, but they do ask and they have well merited the undying and prayerful remembrances which we as a parish are able to bestow upon them. Let not a single day pass by without a fervent "Thank you" rising from the altar and from the hearts of this parish.

Rather roughly have we sketched the life of this parish from its first spark of life coming from Newtown all the way down the years until it arrives at this latest location and in this dignified building. The wheat and its plantings and its transplantations from place to place we have watched admiringly. There remains but one further thought to occupy our minds this afternoon.

Whenever and wherever the planters dug into the soil of St. Mary's County they seemed never quite satisfied for they always dug down deeper and deeper until their efforts laid bare the bedrock. How far down they had to dig I do not know. But this I do know—they always found bedrock. They went down deep into the ground because Christ one day told the man who was to be His representative on earth these well remembered words: "Thou art Peter, and it is upon this rock that I will build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Thou art Peter, thou art the Rock.

All through the passing years we Catholics have enjoyed the consoling conviction that the tiny wooden church built in the Old Cemetery in 1776, was built on that Rock of Peter. The grander one erected in 1846 saw its foundations laid upon that same Rock of Peter, just as this latest edifice dedicated and blessed this afternoon by His Excellency, Our Archbishop, is put down on that same Rock of Peter.

The physical fabric of all these church edifices must needs succumb to the teeth of time, but the Faith professed in them will endure without changing forever and forever. Our hearts must rejoice within us this afternoon as we bow down in

adoration before the Sacred Species in the Holy Sacrifice. How happy are we to realize that It is the same Body and same Blood of Christ raised high above that first altar by Father James Walton. He spoke the same words of consecration over the bread and wine used by every priest since the Last Supper. The same words soon to be used by Father Provincial.

Have you ever wondered who it was that offered the first Mass after the Ascension of Our Lord? Could it have been Peter? Perhaps it was. See the Apostles and Mother Mary in their midst gathered together in the Upper Room just as we are gathered here in this Cenacle. Without special vestment, without book or candle, without music, or incense, he took the bread into his hands and whispered the words he had heard Christ use so recently. He filled a cup with wine and blessed it as he had seen Christ fill the cup and bless it. "This is My Body. This is My Blood." And Father Walton did the same and all that long line of priests blessed the bread and broke it in the very same manner in which Father Daley will bless it and break it. There has never been a changing, there never will be one.

Our beliefs and our seven sacraments are precisely the same as when your great-great-great grandfathers knelt before these primitive altars in the long ago. Without even the slightest shadow of change since the days when Peter and Paul and James and John baptised and married and confirmed and annointed and absolved. They call this gift which Christ gave His church immutability, and I cannot help but feel that the old order passing away, the old church edifices being abandoned and destroyed have taught us a lesson,—that while the one passes the other endures forever. Or as St. Paul wrote the same thought to the Hebrews: "What Jesus Christ was yesterday and is today, He remains forever."

MAJOR SUPERIORS IN THE NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

Superiors of the Maryland Mission

Father Andrew White ---------- 1633
Father Philip Fisher (*alias* Percy) ---------- 1636
Father John Brock (really Morgan) ---------- 1639
Father Philip Fisher ---------- 1642
Father Bernard Hatwell ---------- 1645

Jesuits were dispersed and fled to Virginia, probably to Eastern Shore, Virginia.

Father Philip Fisher ---------- 1646-1651
Father Francis Fitzherbert ---------- 1654

Another dispersion in 1656.

Father Henry Warren (*alias* Pelham) ---------- 1661
Father Michael Foster (*alias* Gulick) ---------- 1678
Father Francis Pennington ---------- 1690
Father William Hunter (*alias* Weldon) ---------- 1696
Father Robert Brooks (or Brooke) ---------- 1701
Father Peter Atwood
Father Thomas Mansell (*alias* Harding)
Father George Thorold ---------- 1725
Father Vincent Philips ---------- 1735
Father Richard Molyneux ---------- 1736
Father Thomas Poulton (*alias* Brook and Underhill) ---------- 1740
Father George Hunter ---------- 1747

Father Hunter went to England in October 1756 and returned in July 1757. Father James Ashby (*alias* Middlehurst) took his place during the absence. Father Hunter was again in England May 24, 1769 to May 18, 1770. Father Ferdinand Farmer (really Steinmeyer) replaced him.

Father John Lewis ---------- 1771
Father Robert Molyneux ---------- June 27, 1805
Father Charles Neale ---------- December 9, 1808
Father John A. Grassi ---------- October 1, 1812
Father Anthony Kohlmann ---------- September 10, 1817
Father Peter Kenney, *Visitor and Superior* ---------- April 23, 1819
Father Charles Neale ---------- November 15, 1821
Father Francis Dzierozynski ---------- August 13, 1823
Father Peter Kenney, *Visitor and Superior* ---------- November 14, 1830

Maryland Provincials

Father William McSherry ---------- February 5, 1833
Father Thomas F. Mulledy ---------- October 10, 1837
Father Francis Dzierozynski ---------- March 12, 1840

Father James Ryder ---------- September 14, 1843
Father Peter Verhaegen ---------- January 4, 1845
Father Ignatius Brocard ---------- June 26, 1848
Father Charles H. Stonestreet ---------- August 15, 1852
Father Burchard Villiger ---------- April 25, 1858
Father Felix Sopranis, *Visitor of North America* ---- November 28, 1859
Father Angelo Paresce ---------- April 19, 1861
Father Joseph E. Keller ---------- August 15, 1869
Father Robert W. Brady ---------- May 8, 1877

On August 7, 1879, Maryland and the New York Mission were joined under the title of New York Province. On August 19, 1880 the name was changed to Maryland-New York Province.

Father Robert Fulton ---------- May 28, 1882
Father Thomas Campbell ---------- May 21, 1888
Father William O'B. Pardow ---------- November, 1893
Father Edward Purbrick ---------- March 14, 1897
Father Thomas J. Gannon ---------- October 10, 1900
Father Joseph P. Hanselman ---------- March 25, 1906
Father Anthony J. Maas ---------- October 4, 1912
Father Joseph H. Rockwell ---------- July 31, 1918
Father Laurence J. Kelly ---------- June 23, 1922
Father Edward C. Phillips ---------- September 12, 1928
Father Joseph A. Murphy ---------- August 28, 1935
Father James P. Sweeney ---------- October 7, 1939
Father Vincent L. Keelan ---------- July 2, 1943
Father David Nugent ---------- February 2, 1947
Father William F. Maloney ---------- February 2, 1953
Father John M. Daley ---------- July 31, 1959

Father James P. Sweeney was made Vice-Provincial of the future Maryland Province on October 6, 1937 and was succeeded on November 1, 1939, by Father Vincent L. Keelan who remained as Vice-Provincial until the division of the Maryland-New York Province into the Maryland Province and New York Province on July 2, 1943.

New England Provincials

On July 31, 1921 Father Patrick F. O'Gorman was made Vice-Provincial of the future New England Province. He was succeeded as Vice-Provincial on November 6, 1924 by Father James M. Kilroy. On July 31, 1926, New England was made a Province.

Father James M. Kilroy ---------- July 31, 1926
Father James T. McCormick ---------- November 21, 1932
Father James H. Dolan ---------- May 6, 1937
Father John J. McEleney ---------- December 8, 1944
Father William E. FitzGerald ---------- October 10, 1950
Father James E. Coleran ---------- August 15, 1956

New York Superiors

From 1846 New York City and other parts of New York State belonged to the New York-Canada Mission of the Champagne Province of the French Assistancy.

Father Clement Boulanger ---------- March 26, 1846
Father John B. Hus ---------- November 28, 1855
Father Remi J. Tellier ---------- April 24, 1859
Father James Perron ---------- January 7, 1866
Father John Bapst ---------- July 31, 1869
Father Theophilus Charaux ---------- June 15, 1873

On August 7, 1879 New York and the Maryland Province were united. The Provincials of New York from 1879 to July 2, 1943 are the same as those of Maryland since New York and Maryland formed the Maryland-New York Province.

Father James P. Sweeney ---------- July 2, 1943
Father Francis A. McQuade ---------- October 30, 1945
Father John J. McMahon ---------- March 4, 1948
Father Thomas E. Henneberry ---------- June 25, 1954
Father John J. McGinty ---------- July 15, 1960

Buffalo Superiors

In the nineteenth century Buffalo was at first a part of the New York-Canada Mission of the Champagne Province. In 1869 Buffalo became the residence of the superior of the Buffalo Mission of the German Province of the Society.

Father Peter Speicher ---------- July 4, 1869
Father William Becker ---------- 1870
Father Henry Behrens ---------- December 22, 1872
Father John B. Lessmann ---------- November 21, 1876
Father Henry Behrens ---------- February 2, 1886
Father Theodore van Rossum ---------- July 7, 1892
Father James Rockliff ---------- July 25, 1898
Father Rudolph J. Meyer ---------- 1906

On September 1, 1907, the New York State portion of the Buffalo Mission was united to the Maryland-New York Province. In 1960 the dioceses of Albany, Buffalo, Ogdensburg, Rochester and Syracuse were separated from the New York Province to form the Buffalo Province. The Provincial is

Father James J. Shanahan ---------- June 21, 1960

Note: The 1881, 1882 and 1883 *Catalogi* of the Maryland-New York Province have lists of superiors as an appendix. Most of our lists are taken from them; sometimes shortened. Brother Joseph H. Ramspacher, Brother Socius of the Maryland Province, supplied much of the additional data.

Books of Interest to Ours

AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT QUESTION

The Bible and the Origin of Man. *By Jean De Fraine, S.J.* New York: Desclee Company, 1962. Pp. 85. $2.50.

This is an important book, primarily of biblical exegesis, but also a judiciously balanced examination of the Church's pertinent official pronouncements, on the subject of the origin of mankind. The author's expressed aim is to determine as accurately as possible the meaning of the principal scriptural passages relating to man's beginnings. This is done in three steps. The first sets forth the problem, which has taken on new urgency in the light of relevant modern scientific findings in this area. The second section is a detailed study of the biblical data, with the intention, as the author puts it, not to show how far one *must* go when presenting Catholic doctrine on the subject, but rather how far one *may* go without being unfaithful to the biblical expression of the doctrine. The final chapter compares the author's exegesis of scripture with the teachings of the Church.

The biblical passages analyzed are principally Genesis 1:26-28; 2:7 and 2:18-24, and in the New Testament, Acts 17:26 and Romans 5:12-19. We can indicate here only one or two of the many valuable points made. On the question of the unity of the human race as derivable from the Genesis accounts, "the most obvious and most natural explanation seems to be that . . . the ancient author . . . identifies the 'woman' with one individual Eve. Yet it is important to remember that in the Genesis account the two individuals, the man and the woman, cannot be considered as being completely isolated from other men. On the contrary in some way they include all others. The text of Genesis 2:18-24 certainly goes beyond the horizon of a single couple, and as such it is hardly apt to give an answer to the problem of the number of first human beings. The whole attention of this narrative, directed entirely towards religious considerations, is fixed on connecting man to God, and, within humanity, man to woman. . . As for the unicity of a single primitive couple, it does not seem to be the object of an explicit and direct affirmation."

In Romans "there can be no doubt that the unicity of the first sin is affirmed; the state of sin of all mankind is bound to one single transgression. . . . [But] does one transgression necessarily imply one individual transgressor? It seems to us that for St. Paul this question is of secondary importance. The main point is [not] that the common state of sin has been 'caused' in a rather extrinsic way by an isolated individual. It is [rather] the affirmation of a mysterious identity. All men sin *in Adam*, and it is through his disobedience (*ipso facto*, and not merely by way of consequence) that all men sin, that 'the many were constituted sinners' (v. 19). For the individualistic way of thinking, the unicity of the transgression spontaneously suggests the unicity of one single individual sinner. The latter communicates his guilt to other

individuals, doubtless bound to him, but nevertheless distinct from him. For St. Paul, on the contrary, the solidarity was much greater. His thought is not so much along the lines of a temporal succession of different individuals; but rather it fits the lines of [an extra-temporal concentration]."

After a very valuable discussion of the idea of "corporate personality," so prominent in biblical thought, the author says that "it seems we must reach the following conclusion: from the text of Romans 5:12-19, taken exactly, we can hardly deduce an indisputable argument for the monogenetic descent of man. St. Paul refers simply to the account of the first sin as given in Genesis. He 'teaches' nothing explicit about the strictly individual unicity of the first sinner . . . St. Paul's whole attention is focused, not upon the unicity of this individual sinner, but on the unicity of the original sin which has become common to all—not on an ancestor numerically one, but on the 'corporate' character of the first 'man'."

Concluding his study of the Church's teaching on the relation between the dogma of original sin and the monogenistic origin of the race of men, with particular attention to the encyclical *Humani Generis* of Pius XII, the question is posed: May a Catholic henceforth argue against the doctrine of monogenesis? The answer must be that "it would be inconsistent with thoughtful wisdom and supernatural prudence to adopt this attitude." But a further question is asked: Has the Church made a definite pronouncement on this matter? The author answers thus: "When we carefully analyze the official text of the Encyclical, it seems that the restriction of freedom on the subject of mono- or polygenesis is not necessarily irrevocable. The absence of enlightenment which results when it is in no way apparent *how* polygenesis *can* be reconciled with Revelation, is not necessarily final. It is possible (we do not say probable, or certain) that with passage of time the objective probability of this conciliation may become apparent, under the form, for example, of a mitigated monophyletism. In that rather questionable case, it would be beneficial to have established, as a preliminary, a clear distinction between monogenesis and the very nucleus of the doctrine of original sin. . . . When the Holy Father speaks of a deviating exaggeration, it cannot be a question of a final and irrevocable condemnation. An obedient son of the Church will not take it upon himself to defend this hypothesis [of polygenesis] or to propose it as probable; but he cannot identify it as formal heresy." The solution, as the author adds, can be supplied only through the living Magisterium of our Holy Mother the Church. And without doubt it is objective and scholarly studies such as this which will help to the attainment of this authoritative solution.

The English translation, while it reads well, is not always as accurate as one might wish. Some of the errors have been corrected in the quotations used in this review.

John F. Sweeney, S.J.

THE COMING COUNCIL

The Council, Reform and Reunion. *By Hans Küng.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. x-208. $3.95.

The thesis of this book is that since the forthcoming Vatican Council is explicitly linked with the question of reunion among Christian Churches, the prelates to the Council should gravely consider the welfare of the ecumenical movement in their deliberations and decrees. Three of the five chapters are on apologia for speaking with ruthless honesty about the serious needs and corresponding demands for reform which have faced the Church in every period of her history, with special urgency at the present time.

In pursuance of his theme Küng highlights the human weaknesses and limitations of the Church which make her deformed and therefore an *Ecclesia semper reformanda.* Basic to this concept is the fact that always "there are mistaken developments and mistaken attitudes in the Church."

Prominent among these developments was the turn that the Counter-Reformation took in opposition to the Contarini group at the time of the Council of Trent. The latter was "a movement within the Catholic Church, related to the religious aspirations of the Reformation (though not to its theological formulae)." But instead the lines between the Church and Protestantism became hardened. "The two groups of separated brethren, unwilling even to recognize each other now, began to devote themselves entirely to mutual strife, and so to grow away from each other in every respect and to fall into a total estrangement."

Küng sees the Church in modern times in serious need of carrying through the changes that were not made in the sixteenth century and which have become more imperative than ever before. He is encouraged by certain developments in recent years, such as "a definite decrease in the importance of the Vulgate . . . more balanced interpretation of the meaning of transubstantiation . . . less juridical statement of the Church's teaching . . . far-reaching purifications of the papacy from politics . . . a growing understanding in moral theology of the individual conscience and of the ever-varying situation of the individual . . . suspension of celibacy . . . and thus allowing married priests even in the Western Church . . . all that is secondary in Catholic devotion (relics, indulgences, veneration of the saints, and much else that was overstressed at the time of the Reformation) has been manifestly giving ground."

Given Küng's purpose, *The Council, Reform and Reunion* is a powerfully written volume that leaves nothing to the imagination to implement its aims. Judging by the advance reports from Archbishop Ramsey and Bishop Pike, this is "one of the most important works on the Christian scene today," one that Bishop Pike bought for every priest in his diocese and that is sure to be well received in Protestant circles.

One serious limitation of the book is the two-fold assumption on which its main thesis is based, that the deformities in the Church are due to error or lack of vision or moral wrong (not only among the faithful but in the Church's highest administrators), and that the projected reforms

should be made from the vantage point of the best in Protestantism. Always the author's concern is to introduce those elements which would satisfy the descendants of the Reformation (short of doctrinal compromise) and eliminate what displeases them. This leads him to support "dispensation from the obligation of celibacy . . . avoid giving a false, authoritarian, clericalist impression of the Church . . . Communion under both kinds," and a host of other items, in the direction of practices and customs in the Protestant tradition.

At the same time such grave problems as divorce and birth control, loss of faith and compromise with the Church's precepts to which Catholics are tempted through contact with a non-Catholic environment are not even mentioned. As a result the many splendid ideas which Küng projects are obscured by his preoccupation and, except for the specialist, it is hard to distinguish in the book between changes that should objectively be made and those which may be useful subjectively to promote Christian reunion.

JOHN A. HARDON, S.J.

A TREASURE

The Life and Teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ. *By Nicola Avancini, S.J.* Translated from the Latin by B. E. Kenworthy-Browne. New York: Kenedy, 1961. Pp. xxxii-554. $4.95.

The translator of this book may be right in using the Italian *Nicola* instead of the German *Nikolaus*. Father Avancini was born near Trent which lies south of the Alps. But in early modern times the region was part of the German Empire. The famous council was held there precisely because it was German, at least politically, although geographically Italian. Avancini, himself, was member of the Austrian Province and under Father de Noyelle was Assistant for Germany. He was well known in his day as a poet, especially as a dramatist. Father Bernhard Duhr calls him a Tyrolese.

Father Avancini's meditations are, indeed, uplifting but practical, warm but not sentimental, penetrating, simple and at once encouraging and exacting. The translation is competent but changes the direct "thou" of the original to the more modern "we." The book is a treasure and well worth the price.

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

THE EXERCISES IN A NEW KEY

A Do-It-Yourself Retreat. *By Joseph F. Hogan, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1960. Pp. 274. $1.25.

This is a wonderfully refreshing variation of the ever-old, ever-new treatment of the Exercises. Father Hogan writes a quietly encouraging book and admirably fulfills what he professes to do: show people how to bring out the real good in them. The book is intended: 1) for those who have never made a retreat and to whom the idea is strange and forbidding; 2) for those who would like to make a closed retreat and cannot, especially the sick and suffering; 3) for those who have made a retreat and would like to regain the clarity of vision and peace it gave them; 4) for husbands and wives who would like to make a retreat

at home either together or individually; and 5) for those who are making an open retreat and want a companion book to keep them in the spirit. Retreat masters, too, will use the book with profit. They will discover that it offers an endless variety of stimulating ideas which will give amazing vigor and delightful freshness to the old familiar truths and principles. The author's treatment is sparkling and up-to-date. The meditations are spiced and spaced by pointed incidents and telling stories. The chapter on the mercy of God is particularly impressive and contains a real human-interest story showing that God's mercy is above all his works.

TIMOTHY J. O.'DWYER, S.J.

THE IDEA OF SIN

Sin. *By Marc Oraison and others.* Translated by Bernard Murchland, C.S.C. and Raymond Meyerpeter, O.S.B. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962. Pp. xiv-177. $4.50.

Discussing the relations between modern psychology and the Christian idea of sin, Marc Oraison says in his personal contribution to this symposium, that "these reflections can only be scattered and juxtaposed." In a sense this a true of the book as a whole. Here are five essays centered about the very important idea of sin in the Christian economy; the unity of the book lies primarily in the fact that each of the contributions is concerned with one or other aspect of sin; the various discussions in some cases overlap, and in any case are never really drawn into a unified whole. This is not to say that the book is of no value; the competence of the various authors is well-established and their suggestive studies gathered here have a real worth.

"Our age," as Father Murchland remarks in his introduction, "is as haunted by the presence of sin as any other. . . . The deepest articulations of the modern mind—particularly in literature, philosophy, and theology—demonstrably add to the literature of sin and have created new approaches to the mystery itself. These essays may be cited as evidence of some of these new approaches, and they emphasize in a compelling manner the deepest truth about sin: namely, *that it is not so much an infraction of law as a betrayal of a personal relationship.*" This is very just assessment of this collection. Newness is not sought for its own sake or for the purpose of startling the reader, but to meet the exigencies of contemporary life and thought.

In his Psychology and the Sense of Sin, Marc Oraison draws a very clear distinction between the guilt complex of contemporary psychology and the Christian conception of the nature of repentance for true sin. "Psychotherapy," he concludes, "operates at the level of emotional and reactional relations of the subject insofar as there is something in him, if we may so speak, of the infrahuman. The Sacrament of Penance operates at the level of 'suprahuman' relationships. There can be no common measure or even comparison between the two." This does not mean that the practice of confession never has a therapeutic value. But we cannot reduce the sacrament to the plane of merely human techniques; this would be ultimately to suppress the essentially super-

natural purpose and efficacy of the sacrament.

Father Henri Niel, S.J., of the Catholic University of Lyon in France, discusses the Limits of Resonsibility in the light of modern psychology; the problems confronting the catechist in his presentation of the Catholic idea of sin are handled very intelligently by F. Coudrea, P.S.S., of Paris. The final articles on Redemption from Sin and the Doctrine of Original Sin are by J. de Baciocchi, S.M., and Professor Gustav Siewerth, respectively. Thus the idea and reality of sin is examined from the psychological, moral, philosophical and theological viewpoints, always with an eye to contemporary problems and present day difficulties.

John F. Sweeney, S.J.

A NEW AND EXCITING SERIES

Inspiration in the Bible. *By Karl Rahner, S.J.* Volume I of *Quaestiones Disputatae:* Translated by Charles H. Henkey. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. 80. $1.95.

Karl Rahner and Heinrich Schlier have undertaken the editorship of a series of books called *Quaestiones Disputatae.* The title of the series pretty much defines what they intend to do. Matters under discussion in the whole area of theology come within the purview of the editors and it is their intention to further the work of theology by rephrasing perennial questions, exploring the old with the help of the new, working with hypotheses. They insist that theology is alive and able to speak to the people of this day. The first three books of the series appeared in English late last year, and each year three more volumes are scheduled to be published.

The first essay in the series is Rahner's work on biblical inspiration, which is not well known in the field. God wills and institutes the Church in absolute pre-definition, and this will applies to the Apostolic Church in a unique way because of the singular function this latter enjoys. Scriptures are a constitutive element of the Apostolic Church, originating with God and at the same time being an expression by the Church of what she believes. Thus they are included in God's absolute will, and in a way which makes Him their author. "He achieves [the Scripture and His own authorship] because and in so far as He wills Himself as acting and efficient author of the Church." In brief, inspiration is divine causality of the Church, in as much as this causality views the constitutive element of the Apostolic Church, which is the Scriptures. The inspiration of the Old Testament is explained by the Old Testament's position as an a priori part of the Church's prehistory. The necessary and inbuilt drive of the Old Testament toward Christ and the New Testament guarantees it the same validity as the New Testament. In the general structure of this view the thorny question of revelation of the inspired canon is well explained. The revelation is given because the writings emerge as a self-expression of the primitive Church. The rational acknowledgement of this (which means *knowledge* of inspiration and canonicity) takes time, and is another matter. Furthermore, Rahner brings the magisterium and Scripture together nicely: for "the infalli-

bility of the later teaching Church is, by definition, the inerrant interpretation of the Scripture, because it includes by definition the link with the early Church, which necessarily teaches the later Church and has expressed her teaching in the Scripture."

We might ask if inspiration of individuals is well explained and if Old Testament inspiration really finds a place in this system. Still, it is only an essay, albeit a brilliant one. I cannot pass any judgment on its ultimate validity, though many have expressed satisfaction with the basic outlines of his approach. Doubtless his contribution will exert great influence on future speculation on inspiration.

Donald J. Hinfey, S.J.

THE CHURCH IN FOCUS

You Are the Church. *By James J. Killgallon.* Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 136. $2.95.

You Are the Church presents in a clear readable style an answer to some of the popular misconceptions non-Catholics have about the Church. Therefore it has a positive orientation, for it is the author's conviction that only well-informed Catholic laymen can dispel the distorted image of the Church. In his chapter on the Mystical Body, for example, Father Killgallon discusses two attitudes of mind: one which fears, the other which admires the vast structured organization of a worldwide Church. This visible, juridical element, he rightly claims, is but one aspect of the multi-hued robe that is the Church. In presenting the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ according to the mind of Pius XII, Father Killgallon stresses the fact that through the Church Christ has prolonged His presence here on earth with us.

A chapter entitled "What the Church Is Not: Mistaken Notions" gives an answer to the problems non-Catholics have with the Church's position on sacramentals, the Mass and Scripture. A section devoted to Our Lady is particularly readable, seasoned as it is with some fine anecdotes. For example, Catholics express the powerful intercession of Our Lady by a joke which tells how our Lord complains to St. Peter about the strange characters who are wandering about in heaven and orders him to keep a stricter watch on the door. Peter replies, "Lord, what good does it do for me to keep watching the door when your Mother goes around opening all the windows." Father Killgallon has given us a lively, interesting book which displays real understanding of and sympathy with the difficulties non-Catholics have with the Church. His answers are at once sound doctrine and enjoyable reading. The book is to be recommended to the Catholic laity and to priests in search of material for their sermons.

Thomas P. Walsh, S.J.

PRAYERFUL AND IMAGINATIVE REFLECTIONS ON SCRIPTURE

The Bow in the Clouds. *By Daniel Berrigan, S.J.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1961. Pp. 220. $4.50.

The sub-title of this book, "Man's Covenant with God," indicates the contents more readily than the title. The two sections of the book probe

various aspects of the Old and New Covenants. The treatment is never exclusive, however, and the Old Covenant forms are always discussed in terms of their New Covenant anti-types.

It would be rather difficult to plug this book into any ordinary category, such as 'essay' or 'treatise,' for Father Berrigan's style is altogether unique. More accurately the book might be described as prayerful reflections on the scriptures, presented in deeply spiritual yet highly imaginative terms. The author is primarily a religious poet and his thought develops more in the logic of image and metaphor than in a purely conceptual chain of ideas. This is important to keep in mind if one is to appreciate the real value of his prose works.

To summarize the contents of such a book, filled with flashes of imaginative and spiritual insight as it is, would be impossible. The best that can be said here is that Father Berrigan employs the essential facts contained in the written covenants (man's fall, the call to faith, covenant, prophecy, apostolate, sacrifice, etc.) and makes them meaningful to the educated Catholic of today. If the book is read in the same spirit in which it was written—prayerfully, reflectively, imaginatively—then its purpose should be achieved with great success.

This success is not substanially marred by the many printing deficiencies. For example, we find "Isaias" on page 83 and "Isaiah" on page 87; "1900 years" on page 106 should be "1300 years"; on page 118 "even iniquity can conceal" should read "even iniquity cannot conceal"; "pre-emptory" on page 120 should be "peremptory"; "Guarini" should be "Guardini" on page 159. Further, although the book is meant to be devotional, it would not seem to be too much of a distraction to indicate the sources for the many non-scriptural references. But these are accidental quibbles about a book which reflects an unusually brilliant religious and poetic insight.

PETER J. MCCORD, S.J.

NOT TO BE MISSED

Faith, Reason and the Gospels. *By John J. Heaney, S.J.* Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 327. Cloth $4.95. Paper $1.95.

God's communication of Himself to men in the revelatory process calls for an act of supernatural faith which does seeming violence to our sense of logic and rational procedure. We are reasonable men and so over and over again we seek to demonstrate the credibility if not the logic, the reasonableness if not the rationalism, of our faith. This excellent anthology of fifteen essays by contemporaneous authors both Catholic and non-Catholic presupposes that the reader is a believer and then strives mightily to dissipate the smoke that hangs heavily over the no-man's-land that separates faith and reason: to "justify the relation of faith to reason as it meets its concrete test in the Gospel literature."

The anthology is divided into three parts. In part one, entitled *Faith*, the nature of faith, its power and relationship to reason are discussed with concision and insight by Charles Davis, Romano Guardini and Jean Levie. In part two, *Reasoning Faith*, there is an ample discussion of problems connected with Hellenism and the primitive kerygma (F. Filson,

Hugo Rahner); the historicity of the Resurrection (K. Adam); Form Criticism (D. Stanley); and the Dead Sea Scrolls (H. H. Rowley). In part three, *Faith Synthesizing*, Fathers O'Keefe and Stanley write about the nature, spirit and literary form of the Gospels as salvation history, while Jean Mouroux concludes the selections with an essay appropriately entitled: Faith, the Beginning and the End. In addition to the fifteen essays there is an Epilogue, a Summary, an Appendix on miracles (Taymans) and an Index.

Two minor criticisms. One fears that the discerning college student for whom the book is intended as collateral reading may feel he is being "conned" by the subtitle. Any book that advertises itself as "A *magnificent* Summary of *modern* Thought on a *vital* Question" labors under a twofold difficulty, for it promises too much and at the same time seems to be adopting a defensive posture. I doubt that Father Heaney intends to take either position.

He admits in his Preface (p. vii) and Epilogue (p. 290) that his collection is necessarily incomplete because of the nature of apologetics. On the other hand, the four Protestant authors who contribute essays to the anthology give fair indication that the Catholic apologist (*sit venia verbo*) of today is in company with a group that is paradoxically as numerous as it is elite. Why be shy? Though the nature of the discipline defies the thoroughness and the ordered lines of a chaste methodology, the theologian's concern is not rebuttal but affirmation. Thinking again of the college student, might not the "Suggested Readings" appended to certain essays be more alluring if pertinent passages and/or select pages were cited rather than the bald title and author of a 400-500 page tome?

Father Heaney is to be congratulated for his selection of articles. The Newan Press is to be congratulated for a splendid printing job sold in paperback for a still more splendid price.

James A. O'Donnell, S.J.

OLD ALASKA

The Kingdom of the Seal. *By Francis M. Ménager, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. xvi-203. $3.00.

Father Ménager spent twenty-five years in Alaska. He traveled to his first mission near the coast of the Bering Sea in a boat that was a relic of gold rush days. After mastering the complexities of the language from the still famous grammar of Father Frank A. Barnum, S.J., he adapted the history of salvation to a people who had never seen a lamb. He told of the Good Reindeerherder and explained that we are his deer. He brought music into their lives and composed hymns for them on a ten dollar reed organ brought from Seattle. Those were the days of dog-sledding the circuit of isolated Eskimo villages. He learned to teach the faith in the crowded, underground "kazga." He said Mass on gasoline boxes; he baptized in freezing temperatures.

When Father Ménager brought the first electric light to the village, he explained how it worked to all who came to see. He arranged them in a semicircle, had them hold hands, gave the two end men the bare

wires, and turned on the generator. They were so delighted that they insisted on getting individual shocks. But when the first plane to travel to the lower coast of the Bering Sea touched down near his mission church it was Father's turn to try something new. Before he left Alaska he had won his pilot's license and was flying between his mission outposts.

Behind this record of a priest's experiences among the Eskimo is the history of a vocation. It is written with a directness and spontaneity that will appeal especially to boys. Both the format and the illustrations by the author round out a fine book. RALPH W. DENGLER, S.J.

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AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

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